HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 4

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January 27, 1968

35¢

State of the Union Message

What LBJ Didn't Say

Q. Much of the press has been stressing the "conservative," "restrained" approach President Johnson took in his State of the Union message. How accurate is this description?

A. LBJ may have taken a more moderate approach than previously, but by no stretch of the imagination can his message be termed "conservative." Consider some of his requests: In the face of a $20-billion deficit and a massive balance-of-payments problem, he called for a $2.1-billion job training program for the unemployed—a 25 per cent increase over the current fiscal year; $1 billion in new funds for the Model Cities program—$700 million more than Congress appropriated last year; government aid to start building six million housing units for low and middle-income families in the next 10 years—more than 10 times the number of houses constructed for these families at present; $500 million more for the current anti-poverty program; a five-year child health program for poverty-stricken families, etc., etc. Whatever else may be said about this program, it is hardly conservative.

Q. At one point LBJ declared the new budget of $186 billion will be $10.4 billion over that in fiscal 1968 and that "Virtually all of this expenditure increase represents the mandatory cost of our defense efforts. . . ." Is this true?

A. The President's own breakdown of the $10.4-billion figure conspicuously contradicts his own claim. By his own count, $3 billion of the increase is for interest rates—which he considers a "defense cost." But $5.5 billion of the new spending, he admits, is allocated to veterans, Social Security recipients, farmers and Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries. Another $1.6 billion is for government pay increases. While the President tried to blame these cost hikes on Congress, every knowledgeable Capitol Hill observer realizes that much of this welfare spending wouldn't have passed if LBJ hadn't laid his whip hand to Congress. Furthermore, if LBJ hadn't previously pushed through the anti-poverty program, the Model Cities legislation, rent supplement laws, Medicare, giant government pay raises, etc., the current budget would never have reached its enormous scale.

Q. Is it true, as the President insists, that the U.S. economy is still healthy?

A. This one is hard for almost anyone to swallow. The President, in fact, is obviously aware that the economy is ailing—and ailing badly—or else he would not be desperately prescribing a whole range of unpleasant nostrums—in an election year—to cure both inflation and the runaway balance-of-payments deficit.

He has again asked the Congress to enact a 10 per cent income tax surcharge. Failure to pass it, he has warned, "will sweep us into an accelerating spiral of price increases; a slump in home building; and a continuing erosion of the American dollar." Yet LBJ acknowledges that even with the tax hike the federal budget, by his own highly optimistic estimate, will still plunge $8 billion more into the red in fiscal 1969.

The President also reiterated his desire to have the executive and legislative branches of government enact his stringent solutions for the balance-of-payments problems that he first unveiled on January 1. These drastic proposals included severe cutbacks in the amount that businesses and banks could invest abroad and a possible head tax on anyone who wished to travel outside the Western Hemisphere. Those violating certain restrictions would also face criminal prosecution and massive fines. In addition to all this, LBJ proposed removing all gold backing for Federal Reserve notes.

There was also the broad hint in his address that unless business and labor held the line on prices, the government would intervene into the collective bargaining process to compel settlements on terms desired by the Administration.

While the President claimed that in February we "will begin our eighth year of uninterrupted prosperity," even he confessed that prices are rising and that interest rates had "passed the peak of 1966." Moreover, he failed to mention the fact that while the Gross National Product (GNP)—a favorite standard of growth measurement by liberal economists—was at an $800-billion rate, inflation had trimmed the growth rate of the GNP to a lowly 2.5 per cent.

Q. Should we remove the gold cover as the President demands?

A. Removal of the gold backing will do nothing to solve the balance-of-payments problem and will probably cause the government to engage in even more spending. The basic facts are these: Foreigners hold more than $30 billion in dollar claims which can be be exchanged for America's gold supply. At the moment, though, the United States has only some $12.5 billion in gold, and under present requirements there must be 25 per cent gold behind every Federal Reserve note. This means that all but $2 billion of our gold supply is committed to the currency reserve.

By scrapping the gold cover, the entire $12.5-billion gold supply remaining in the Treasury would be freed to pay off these foreign dollar claims. The official reasoning seems to be that if the United States assures everyone that we have $12.5 billion, not $2 billion, in gold then suddenly all will be well.

Economic experts stress, however, that the bullion

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With Exclusive Poll

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● LBJ stirred the Congress to cheers and much applause on just one occasion during his **State of the Union address.** That was when he said the "American people have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness."

● When Johnson set up his special President's Commission on Civil Disorders, Human Events noted (August 5) that he selected Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner as chairman with the aim of refurbishing Kerner's image so he could run again for governor. Kerner now seems destined to make the race. In our August 19 issue we noted that the little-known **Katherine Peden,** Kentucky's former state commerce commissioner, was put on the riot panel to give her national exposure because "she hopes to challenge GOP Sen. Thruston Morton next fall." Miss Peden has now announced plans to take on Morton and says the commission report will be a major issue in her campaign.

● Well-informed sources tell Human Events that Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** was not the originator of the Justice Department move to prosecute Dr. Benjamin Spock, Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin, et al., for deliberate flouting of the draft laws. Clark, it has been learned, was ordered to get after these individuals by LBJ himself.

● A number of House conservatives say that Rep. John Ashbrook's (R.-Ohio) plan to form a **"conservative caucus"** within the GOP may get off the ground in this second session of the 90th Congress. Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) believes if a "well disciplined" caucus had been in existence last year, much of LBJ's legislation could have been stopped cold.

● Here's one fear that the Administration won't talk about publicly: that the **Red Chinese** might enter the Viet Nam war sometime this year. High-placed intelligence sources in Washington say that anywhere from 50,000 to 250,000 Red Chinese are now in North Viet Nam and that additional numbers are seeping into that Communist country on a daily basis.

● The House Committee on Un-American Activities is definitely thinking of calling Defense Department officials on the carpet for having refused to revoke a secret clearance for **Robert Arthur Niemann** despite his frequent cooperation with known Communists in leftist causes and his public joining of the Communist-spawned W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. Human Events triggered the committee's probe of Niemann, by revealing detailed information regarding his radical background.

● The risk of becoming a **victim of crime** in the United States has increased about 50 per cent since 1960, according to Earl F. Morris, president of the American Bar Association.

● Miami police chief Walter Headley has come under considerable fire from civil rights types for arming policemen with dogs and shotguns to take care of hoodlums in high crime areas of his city. But while liberals are screaming that **tough law enforcement** won't solve the crime problem, Headley is proving otherwise. Three weeks after having invoked his "get tough" policy, in fact, crimes of violence have fallen off from 60 to 65 per cent. Moreover, Negroes who live in these hoodlum areas are grateful to Headley. The Rev. Thedford Johnson, Negro pastor of a Baptish church in Miami, is particularly contemptuous of Headley's critics and says he thinks the use of "machine guns and lions" would be justified "to wipe out crime" in the streets.

● Chairman Edwin Willis of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has flatly denied stories aired over national television that he finds the testimony of the Rev. **Richard Wurmbrand** untrustworthy. This tale had circulated because Willis had used the term "unbelievable" to describe some of Wurmbrand's statements, but the Louisiana legislator stresses he could just as well have used the word "shocking." Willis has nothing but praise for the Protestant minister, who spent 14 years in a Rumanian prison and has given congressional committees expert testimony regarding the manner in which Communists suppress religious freedom.

● The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the median wage and benefit package won in major collective bargaining agreements in 1967 raised **labor costs** by 5.6 per cent a year, far above the rate even Administration economists regard as inflationary. The unions were winning these enormous wage gains, moreover, while the gross national product, after allowance for inflation, was rising only 2.5 per cent.

● Certified liberals like Daniel Moynihan and Richard Goodwin aren't the only ones, apparently, who are worried about the growth of the federal government. Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corp., recently told the Association of American Colleges in Minneapolis: "What we should be worrying about . . . is how all our institutions, whatever the nature of their control, can preserve academic freedom, high academic standards and an experimental turn of mind in the face of their inevitable **heavy financial dependence on the federal government."** Interestingly enough, the New York Times' education editor, Fred Hechinger, left this quote out of his lengthy account of the Pifer speech.

● Staff members of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders say the commission's upcoming report will call for **"multi-billion-dollar" federal spending** on new jobs, housing and riot control measures. Figures ranging from $1 billion to $4 billion have been discussed, but because of a dispute among members, the report, at present, contains no specific dollar amount. New York Mayor John Lindsay, Sen. Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.) and NAACP chieftain Roy Wilkins reportedly favor the biggest federal outlays, while Kentucky Commerce Commissioner Katherine Peden and, surprisingly, United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel are considered the two "conservatives" on the panel as far as spending recommendations are concerned.

● NBC television commentator Frank McGee recently gave another excellent reason why Young Americans for Freedom and other conservatives want to get major stockholders in the **International Business Machines (IBM) Corp.** to reverse management's decision to sell highly sophisticated computers to Communist countries. In narrating a recent NBC television program, McGee said: " . . . Soviet scientists have come a long way from the days when Stalin decreed that computers were a wicked capitalist invention. Without the computer, there would be no Soviet space program."

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NET Shows Pro 'Cong' Film

The high-brow National Educational Television network has been pouring out a profusion of portside political propaganda in recent years, but has so far managed to ignore its critics. But now, for the first time, it is receiving flak from a powerful source: members of Congress, many of whom would be more than willing to revoke NET's profitable tax-exempt status.

What has finally goaded a number of lawmakers into angry opposition is NET's plans to bring into the American homes this week a film highly favorable to North Viet Nam.

The Republican leadership, including Senators Everett Dirksen (Ill.) and George Murphy (Calif.) and Representatives Gerald Ford (Mich.) and Melvin Laird (Wis.), have called upon the President to make known to the American people the background of Felix Greene, whose film *North Viet Nam—A Personal Report*, "is called a viewing 'must' by the American Communist party's official newspaper, the *Worker*."

After being informed of the matter by former Rep. Walter Judd (R.-Minn.), some 33 others representatives, both Democrats and Republicans, sent a stinging letter to NET President John White in New York for scheduling Greene's film. Among the protestors: Ross Adair (R.-Ind.), Louis Wyman (R.-N.H.), William Bates (R.-Mass.) and Edward Hebert (D.-La.).

An expert on the Far East, Judd had written some of his former colleagues: "I hope you will read and sign the accompanying letter protesting the proposed showing on Educational TV network of Felix Greene's film from North Viet Nam—presenting blatant propaganda on behalf of avowed enemies of our country and derogatory to our cause and our fighting men.

"If those who sponsor such a film are not aware that Ho and Mao allow into their countries no objective reporters, but only those who they have reason to believe are already favorable to the Communist cause, those sponsors are not sufficiently well informed to be in the business of 'educating' the American people.

"When American youths are giving their lives in a war against a ruthless enemy, surely we have an obligation to protect their families and the public against anything that strengthens the enemy."

The 33 lawmakers agreed to sign the enclosed letter from Judd which read in part:

JUDD

"Is it possible that NET's management is unaware of Mr. Greene's record as a propagandist for Communist China and North Viet Nam? . . . .

"We have not seen the film by Mr. Greene which NET plans to show, but Radio Hanoi's description of the film clearly indicates that it is nothing more or less than Communist propaganda. . . . Here is what Radio Hanoi says of it:

" ' . . . The 85-minute color film, North Viet Nam, was shot by British writer and film producer Felix Greene during his three-month stay in North Viet Nam early this year. The film shows many instances of the barbarous U.S. crimes against the civilian population in North Viet Nam and vividly reflects the determination of the North Vietnamese people to defeat the U.S. air war of destruction.' (Source: Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Dec. 18, 1967)."

In reviewing the film, shown in December at the Carnegie Hall Cinema in New York, the New York *Times* wrote that "Mr. Greene contends there is only one thing rotten in North Viet Nam; namely, the American 'invaders.' "

The congressmen should not exactly be surprised at NET's curious ways. In 1965 NET distributed to its affiliates "Three Faces of Cuba," a one-hour spectacular that lauded Fidel Castro's regime and denigrated the constructive role played by American investment in pre-Castro Cuba.

Viewers were treated in late 1967 to another pro-Castro film, "Report from Cuba," whose inaccuracies were laid bare in *Human Events* Nov. 25, 1967, by former Foreign Service Officer Paul Bethel. The co-producer of "Report from Cuba" was Saul Landau, who once worked with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the partially Castro-financed organization to which Marxist assassin Lee Harvey Oswald once belonged.

As a result of NET's intriguing activites on behalf of leftist causes, Congress might not only want to look into NET's tax-exempt status, but the Public Broadcasting Act it so eagerly passed last year. The act is written in such a manner that NET will undoubtedly receive the lion's share of the taxpayers' dollar.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

SBA Favors Demos

It's an old story on Capitol Hill, but it obviously pays to be a Democrat. The Small Business Administration, for example, recently lent a prominent Alaska Democrat nearly all he asked for and cut in half the request of the state's Republican governor after the Fairbanks flood damaged their neighboring motels in August.

Although the Republican-owned motel suffered the greater damage, the SBA won't say why it received less money.

The SBA insists that politics is not involved, but the story is this. The SBA recently lent $894,000 to L. Donald Pruhs' Golden Nugget Motel after the flood. Until a month ago, Pruhs was chairman of the Democratic central committee for the Alaskan interior. He is now a member of the party's state central committee. Employed as a supervisor in Pruhs' contracting firm is Alex Miller, Alaska's Democratic national committeeman.

The loan required no higher approval than that of the SBA's San Francisco office, but government sources reported that Pruhs retained a Washington attorney to help him get it.

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), who has demanded a congressional investigation into the loan, says that of the $894,000 paid to Pruhs after the flood, "only $140,000 was actually for that disaster purpose." Gross claimed that Pruhs promptly went to the bank in Fairbanks and paid off a $420,000 construction loan with his federal money.

The bank had actually charged Pruhs an interest rate of 8 per cent on the construction loan, said Gross, and required payment in 10 years. But as a result of obtaining the SBA loan, according to the Iowa lawmaker, Pruhs now has an extra 20 years to pay back the cost of his venture—at a 5 per cent lower interest rate.

Across the street from Pruhs' 38-unit Golden Nugget is the 106-room Travelers Inn, owned by GOP Gov. Walter J. Hickel. Larger and built lower to the ground, it suffered—by Pruhs' own estimate—greater flood damage, primarily because much of its valuable property, restaurant, bar and 50 rooms are on the first floor. Hickel asked the SBA for $1.2 million, including the refinancing of two mortgages. He got $623,400. Reached by the Associated Press in Anchorage, Vernon Hickel, the governor's brother, recalled: "We had 18 to 20 inches [of water] on that floor. We had to replace rugs, bedding, furniture, almost everything.

"We did pretty well on the reconstruction and replacement part of our loan—but they still cut us back nearly $100,000. And they just wouldn't give us the help we needed on the two mortgages."

He added that he was astounded to learn of the Golden Nugget's $200,000 damage claim. "He barely got any water on the floor," he said.

"Even without that, though," he added, "I honestly don't think we were equitably dealt with. You could see it all through town. It was really lopsided, right down political lines. You go through this town and see who got what and who didn't, and check their party hookups."

Rocky's Big Spend Budget

"High Tax Rocky" was the label hung on New York's governor last week by outraged members of the state legislature. A week earlier Rockefeller had delivered a "state of the state" address in which he paraded as a fiscal conservative and called for governmental economy.

ROCKEFELLER

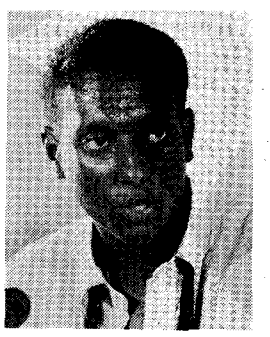
But the New York budget unveiled last week indicates that Rockefeller has not changed at all. The Rock's initial budget, in 1959, called for spending of $2 billion. Nine years later, his spending has soared to $5.5 billion and the governor must impose another $500 million in new taxes.

The Rockefeller budget is $856 million higher than last year's and will be balanced only with the aid of additional taxes and a half-billion-dollar bond issue. Under Rocky's plan, New York taxpayers, already reeling under the nation's highest levies, will pay a 20 per cent surcharge on their state income tax. They will pay higher gasoline, liquor and parimutual levies. Corporation and utility taxes will be increased by as much as 50 per cent.

The New York budget demolishes Rockefeller's image as a tight-fisted administrator. It means, quite simply, that if Rockefeller is nominated for President, the GOP will be unable to use economy in government as a major issue. In fact, LBJ could campaign with some justification as the more conservative of the two.

Stokely-King Alliance

Pro-Communist revolutionary Stokely Carmichael, who would have been treated as a pariah in days gone by, continues to have an extraordinary hold over leading civil rights types even as he mounts his conspiratorial plots within the shadow of the Nation's Capital.



CARMICHAEL

Carmichael has spread incendiary and hate-filled utterances against the United States into the far corners of the globe. He has promised to bring violence to America and has attended a conference on guerrilla warfare in Communist Cuba at which he also threatened the life of the American President and his Cabinet.

Despite this amazing record, the Jamaica-born revolutionary commands enormous attention and respect by many American citizens.

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With the aid of the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, LBJ's hand-picked vice chairman of the District of Columbia City Council, Carmichael was recently able to form the "Black United Front," whose supposed purpose is to advance civil rights by organizing Washington's Negroes into a giant pressure group. Even members of the NAACP and the Urban League attended the Carmichael-called closed-door conclave in northwest Washington.

Carmichael is now intending to use the Black United Front to aid Nobel Peace Prize-winner Dr. Martin Luther King in his plans for a massive civil disobedience campaign in Washington this April.

King, who claims his purpose is to force the government to give jobs to Negroes, has dispatched 40 recruiters across the country to gather 3,000 volunteers for his campaign. The father of "non-violent" protest in the U.S. has claimed he's "going for broke" and that demonstrators would be "willing if necessary to fill up the jails in Washington and surrounding communities."

Carmichael says he now expects to meet with King in connection with the civil disobedience demonstration, a statement confirmed by a spokesman for King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Ga. "Dr. King and I," said Carmichael, "are going to have a long, long talk about the problems in Washington."

Castro's Terror Apparatus

The State Department's wishful thought that Fidel Castro is no longer a menace to the Western Hemisphere was rudely shattered last week when leftist terrorists murdered two military attaches of the United States Embassy in Guatemala.

The dead Americans, Col. John D. Webber Jr., of Houston, and Lt. Cmdr. Ernest A. Munro of Rockland, Me., were gunned down at midday while riding in a United States government automobile into a southern suburb of Guatemala City.

A Castroite outfit, the *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes,* has bragged that its members carried out the slaying. This group is led by Cesar Montes, a 25-year-old former law student and member of the Guatemalan Communist party Central Committee.

Montes is a follower of Fidel Castro and last year attended the Havana meetings of the Latin American Solidarity Organization. At the LASO meeting, Latin Communists pledged to continue their violent campaign to overthrow existing government and received assurance of support in that effort by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

New Soviet Aggression

Bobby Kennedy has again decried U.S. "escalation" of the Viet Nam war. But what the New York senator refuses to acknowledge is that it is not the United States but the Soviet Union that is escalating the conflict.

Only last week, the Pentagon learned that the Kremlin had dispatched the dread Styx surface-to-surface missile to North Viet Nam. These are hardly defensive in nature. They are instead offensive weapons capable of wiping out entire population centers.

Such missiles would threaten not only South Vietnamese cities and U.S. bases but American aircraft carriers off the coast of North Viet Nam as well as the battleship *New Jersey,* which is slated to go there in September.

The Styx is proved in combat. The Egyptians used the missile to score their only victory of the Mideast war when they sank the Israeli destroyer Eilat **October 21.**

Soviet "technicians" are expected to man the Styx batteries. The missile is about 20 feet long, has a range of 20 miles and carries a 1,000-pound conventional warhead. It flies to its target like a drone aircraft and then homes in with terminal guidance—believed to be either radar or heat seekers.

Powell Revisited

Former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell has revealed why a number of persons have struck a strident note in the field of civil rights. As the ex-lawmaker recently told reporters, he expects to more than double his $30,000 congressional salary by addressing white college students across the country on the virtues of "Black Power."

"I picked up $5,000 out here on my first four days," Powell told San Francisco reporters while lounging in a silk bathrobe in his 8th floor double suite in the Jack Tar Hotel.

"What really impresses me," Powell remarked later, "is the amount of money these student organizations have in their treasuries. Why, they've got some $6 million out there at UCLA—over $3 million of it in cash—and don't forget that it is the students and not the college administrations who are bringing me to the campuses."

While Powell is managing to keep the wolf away from his door since the House ejected his presence, he still appears to be in a serious legal fix, with little chance of regaining membership in the House in 1968.

His troubles keep mounting. There is the New York state court contempt citation for which he risks jail if he enters the state (although Rocky is being pressured to pardon him; see page 11). Another grand jury is considering criminal allegations against Powell in connection with his activities as a committee chairman for six years.

Pending in the United States Court of Appeals in Washington is his suit to have his exclusion from the House declared unconstitutional. But even if he won this battle in circuit court, he would have to sit out an appeal by House lawyers to the Supreme Court, unless the House decides to invite him back—a very unlikely possibility. Meanwhile, Powell will just have to suffer—and collect speaking fees.

Continued from page 1

LBJ's State of the Union

is vanishing simply because of the mismanagement of the economy, not because we don't have enough gold. Unless this mismanagement is corrected, they point out, the gold will continue to flow overseas.

The American Bankers Association made this point last week by agreeing that the gold cover could be "relaxed," but coupled this recommendation with the strict warning that such a measure will be "useless or actually harmful" unless more important steps are taken to correct the policies which brought about our balance-of-payments woes in the first place.

The root causes of the payments deficit, the ABA declared, "are inflation and economic overheating at home, and excessive federal spending abroad.

"Until there is clear and convincing evidence that these causes are to be attacked effectively at their source—more effectively than in the President's message of January 1—any change in the gold reserve requirement, however necessary to maintain confidence in the dollar in the short run, could in the long run actually undermine or destroy confidence."

President Johnson, flanked by Vice President Humphrey and House Speaker John McCormack, delivers his State of the Union address.

Q. How committed is LBJ to his war on crime?

A. From the State of the Union message, the people would think that Johnson had been in the forefront of this war. He demanded Congress pass the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, assign funds to "develop state and local master plans to combat crime," and provide immediately for 100 assistant United States attorneys throughout the land. He also proposed stricter penalties for those who traffic in drugs.

But while the President made these demands during an election year, the fact is that LBJ has unfortunately been helping to create the conditions which have made crime a No. 1 issue. He has done so by his previous all-out support of the militant civil rights groups; by his toleration of subversive radicals like Stokely Carmichael; by his appointing as the chief law enforcement officer in the land a man better suited to the ivory tower of a university; and by packing the courts, and particularly the Supreme Court, with extreme liberals who seem far more concerned with the criminal and esoteric points of law than the criminal's victim and society.

Q. In arguing for his tax increase to combat inflation, LBJ argued that "Congress can repeal it . . . if the need has passed. But Congress can never repeal inflation." Does this hold?

A. The *Wall Street Journal* answered that eloquently. "Well," said a *Journal* editorial, "it just so happens that Congress is about the only institution that can repeal inflation. No matter how orgiastic the Administration's spending drive, no matter how loose the Federal Reserve, Congress—if it would employ its constitutional prerogatives—can hold the line. Not by raising taxes, which this Administration would probably only dissipate, but by getting these wild expenditures under control."

Q. What does LBJ plan to do for the consumer?

A. In outlining what he would supposedly do for the people, LBJ proposed appointing a "Consumer Counsel in the Justice Department—a lawyer for the American consumer—to work directly under the attorney general and to serve the President's special assistant for Consumer Affairs." He also wants to invest new powers in the Federal Trade Commission and to delve into automobile insurance. All such demands, if carried out, will only blow up the size of already swollen federal bureaus.

Q. Assuming Congress goes along with the President's request for controls to prevent businesses and individuals from spending abroad, will they work?

A. Probably not. The U.S. is now getting back more in profits from investments abroad than it is putting in through fresh capital. Moreover, the tyrannical travel ban will hurt both the U.S. and our allies. The airline industry, for example, created 30,000 new jobs in the U.S. during 1967, and employment should rise by almost 100,000 in the airline manufacturing field alone in 1968. But the continued growth of this industry is predicated on the free and untrammeled movement of U.S. citizens around the globe for both business and pleasure.

The traffic ban could also cause substantial unemployment in both the airline and aerospace manufacturing industries as a result of jet transport order cancellations by U.S. and foreign airlines, and strike heavy economic blows to the booming tourist industries to our NATO allies. Harvard economist Gottfied Haberler also comments: "To prevent American tourists from going outside the Western Hemisphere is not only a shocking infringement on individual rights, but . . . flagrantly contradicts the often repeated declarations of free trade. . . ."

Q. Johnson called for a lot of legislation in his address. Does he intend to follow through?

A. Apparently. Evidently smarting over GOP gibes that the President's address was listless and devoid of anything new, government agencies have been galvanized into action. By March 1, the President reportedly hopes to have sent 15 to 20 requests to Congress for legislation in housing, child care, job training, consumer protection, monetary policy and other fields.

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POLITICS '68

KIRK

Gov. **Claude Kirk** Jr. of Florida has become the major artillery piece in the GOP's strategy to blast sky high the presidential ambitions of **George Wallace.**

Speaking before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., last week, the colorful Kirk opened up once again on the former Alabama governor.

He accused Wallace of trying to parade as a conservative when he was actually "a Populist, in the way Huey Long was a Populist. Talk about fiscal integrity—something dear to the ear of every conservative. In five short years of Wallace Administration, the state of Alabama's bonded indebtedness tripled —$750 million in Wallace borrowing. . . .

"Talk about big government spending. You won't find George Wallace behind the barn door when those federal highway dollars are being handed out. . . . He can't say he is getting back Alabama's fair share—that state receives $2.50 in tax money for every dollar it sends to Washington. . . .

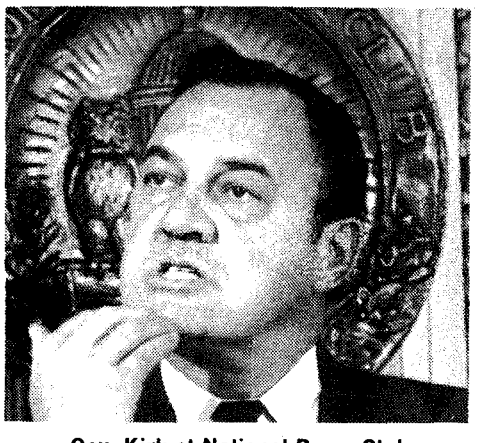
How come Kirk feels competent to talk on Wallace? Says Florida's chief executive: "Up to 1960 I was a Democrat myself; in 1966 I received more Democratic votes than Republican votes for governor. Both George Wallace and I were graduated from the University of Alabama Law School, a startling fact which I hope will not lose that fine school its accreditation. My mother is the Clerk of the Alabama House of Representatives, and my father is on the Wallace payroll in charge of getting federal aid to the state."

Kirk makes the point LBJ is encouraging Wallace's candidacy because "without George Wallace in the race, Lyndon Johnson does not have a remote chance of getting elected." There is no formal pact between the two, says Kirk, but there's a certain unacknowledged plot afoot.

A gentle word, for example, is passed from Marvin Watson in the White House to John Bailey at the Democratic National Committee that the President will not be terribly distressed at those Southern Democratic leaders who support Wallace for President.

Kirk claims the "fund raisers for Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama, who is up for reelection this year, have been told by Watson to get busy early, so as to have the official help of the Democratic party in raising funds.

"Why do they need to do this early? Because Democrat Lister Hill is going to support George Wallace for President. . . .



Gov. Kirk at National Press Club.

"For another example, some liberal Democratic fund raisers in Dade Country, Fla., have been told to make plans for untraceable conduits—ways of getting funds to the Wallace campaign in Florida. Some of them are resentful about this, which is how I came to hear about it. But if they come to understand the strategy, they are quite likely to go along with the word from the White House."

What does Wallace hope to achieve through his bid? The election of 1924 may hold the answer, says Kirk. Andrew Jackson received 38 per cent of the vote, John Quincy Adams 32 per cent, Rep. William Crawford of Georgia 15 per cent and Henry Clay of Kentucky 14 per cent. Since there was no one with a majority of electoral votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President; Clay made a deal with Adams to be his secretary of state and the man who had the most popular votes—Andrew Jackson—was defeated. "George Wallace," says Kirk, "wants to be the Henry Clay of 1968."

ROCKEFELLER

Rep. **John Ashbrook** (R.-Ohio) has flatly denied a recent story in Time magazine conveying the impression that he might be receptive to **Gov. Nelson Rockefeller** as the GOP's presidential nominee. Responding to Time in a letter to the editor, Ashbrook wrote that "I do not favor Gov. Rockefeller as our nominee, nor do a majority of the Republicans. In fact, Rockefeller is the one man who cannot unite the Republican party.

"If, by some extraordinary perverse twist of fate, he were to be nominated by the convention in Miami Beach, I would have to consider at that time whether I could even support him for election. I do not expect to ever have to make that decision, but I can assure you my loyalty to my party would mean far more to me than his did to Gov. Rockefeller when he not only deserted the ticket in 1964, but was the chief architect of the lie and smear campaign waged against my friend, **Barry Goldwater.**

"I might add that those who think Rockefeller at the head of the ticket would win additional House seats for the GOP are dreaming. Not only has the New York governor failed to carry any additional New York GOP House candidates to victory, his state's House delegation has lost Republicans during his three terms as governor. In 1966 his was one of the only industrial states failing to make major gains in the House of Representatives. Rockefeller, himself, in 1966 scored only a dismal 44 per cent of the votes in New York (in 1958 he got 53 per cent and in 1962, 51 per cent), while three others got the majority of the votes cast for governor. The truth is Rockefeller cannot win in 1968 and on his own record should not."

SCHLAFLY

Mrs. **Phyllis Schlafly,** a Goldwater conservative who narrowly lost in her bid last year to become president of the National Federation of Republican Women, will sponsor a political action conference February 14-16 in St. Louis with participants from 50 states.

The conference's chief purpose: to ensure a conservative Republican party. A copy of the invitation to her conference lists as possible speakers: Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), Mrs. Ann Bowler, Republican national committeewoman of California, and Mrs. Katherine Kennedy Brown, GOP national committeewoman of Ohio.

Topics of discussions include: "How California conservatives win elections"; "How to nominate the right candidates in Republican primaries"; "How to prevent liberal control of local party conventions"; "How to elect the right delegates to the Republican national convention in Miami," and "How to carry your own precinct."

MURPHY

Sen. **George Murphy** (R.-Calif.), chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, predicted last week that the GOP would pick up 10 Senate seats, perhaps as many as 14 in the November elections.

The California senator said there was a "good chance" for Republicans to win seats from 12 states—Indiana, Nevada, Maryland, Idaho, Pennsylvania, Alaska, Arizona, Missouri, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Wisconsin and Florida.

A GOP victory of this magnitude would reduce the Democratic majority in the Senate from 54 to 46.

CAPSULES

• A campaign has been launched in Vice President Hubert Humphrey's home state of Minnesota to collect a million signatures urging the impeachment of LBJ for "high crimes" in waging the war on Viet Nam. The petition drive is being conducted by an organization called "Citizens for Governmental Restraint, Inc." Its national chairman is attorney John Williams, who says he formed the organization along with Edward Keating, former publisher of Ramparts magazine, and Corliss Lamont, a long-time champion of left-wing causes.

• LBJ may be using strong-arm methods to make sure that he, and not former Gov. George Wallace, runs for re-election on the Democratic ticket in Louisiana in 1968. While the Democratic state central committee wants to dump LBJ from the ticket and replace him with Wallace, Gov. **John J. McKeithen** is telling Democrats to stick with LBJ or the President just might close the Michaud rocket plant and Fort Polk.

• Republican backers of Nixon believe they can help defeat Gov. George Romney of Michigan in the New Hampshire primary by assailing the governor as a temporary stand-in for a timid Gov. Rockefeller.

• Under constant fire for having established a controversial "office expense fund" financed by his friends and admirers, Sen. **Charles Percy** (R.-Ill.), a dark horse for the GOP presidential nomination, has asked organizers of his fund to stop seeking contributions and to return all money thus far collected. Percy announced his intentions in a letter to Robert W. Galvin, chairman of Motorola, Inc.; Arthur C. Nielsen Jr., of the television ratings firm, and Richard L. Duchossois, president of Thrall Car Manufacturing Co., who headed the drive on the senator's behalf.

• When the in-again, out-again Sen. **Ralph Yarborough** (D.-Tex.) finally declined to run for the governorship last week, the announcement cleared the path for a free-for-all primary race that may include two of LBJ's ambassadors. They are Eugene Locke, deputy ambassador to South Viet Nam and considered the choice of Gov. John Connally, and Edward C. Clark, who is just completing his term as ambassador to Australia. Clark, an Austin lawyer and baker whose law firms represent much of Texas industry as well as the Johnson family, is a long-time friend of the liberal Sen. Yarborough.

• Lt. Gov. **Edward Fiske** will be the Republican opponent of Nevada Sen. **Alan Bible.** Fiske, who is expected to encounter only minor opposition in the GOP primary, will attempt to link Bible with unpopular LBJ. He terms Bible a "me-too Senator, going right down the line with whatever the White House wanted."

• Crime-busting **Charles Siragusa** is considering a race for Congress. A former top official of the Federal Narcotics Bureau, Siragusa now heads the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission. If he runs, Siragusa would challenge Democratic Rep. Frank Annunzio in Chicago's 7th Congressional District. The nonpartisan Congressional Quarterly has reported that 7th District politicos of both parties are linked to the mob, something that Siragusa knows well. He would campaign on the GOP ticket as a good government candidate and dedicated to fighting the mob.

• California's senior senator, liberal Republican **Thomas Kuchel,** is moving to the right to save his political skin. Kuchel, whose "principles" kept him from backing GOP nominees Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, now enthusiastically supports Reagan's favorite-son candidacy for President. Kuchel is known to be worried by the primary opposition of conservative Max Rafferty and very much wants to keep Reagan neutral in any Rafferty-Kuchel contest.

• Backing **Eugene McCarthy's primary challenge** in California are Representatives George Brown and Don Edwards; former senatorial nominee Richard Richards; Joseph Ball, law partner of former Gov. Pat Brown, and Brown's son, Edmund Jr. The old man is backing LBJ.

• Problems are mounting for Sen. **Edward Long** (D.-Mo.) as he gears up for re-election. A federal grand jury in St. Louis is studying alleged illegal campaign fund activities of that city's Pipefitter's Union Local 562. Long reportedly is on the list of politicians supported by the fund. The Senate Ethics Committee, furthermore, has reopened its probe of Long's law practice as a result of additional disclosures made about it by Life magazine. Republicans in the state hope that Rep. **Thomas Curtis** will finally succeed the Missouri Democrat.

• Californians are chuckling over the fact that the Johnson delegation in the California Democratic primary is headed by LBJ stand-in candidate Atty. Gen. Thomas J. Lynch. Anti-LBJ Democrats have already tagged it the **Lynch-Johnson ticket.**

• Insiders are saying that **Kenneth O'Donnell,** a friend of Bobby Kennedy's, may take over the Gene McCarthy campaign in Massachusetts if Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien becomes the stand-in candidate for LBJ.

• Dr. Martin Shephard, national co-chairman of the Citizens for Kennedy organization, indicates he may challenge radical Rep. **William Fitts Ryan** (D.-N.Y.) if Ryan doesn't join the "dump Johnson" movement.

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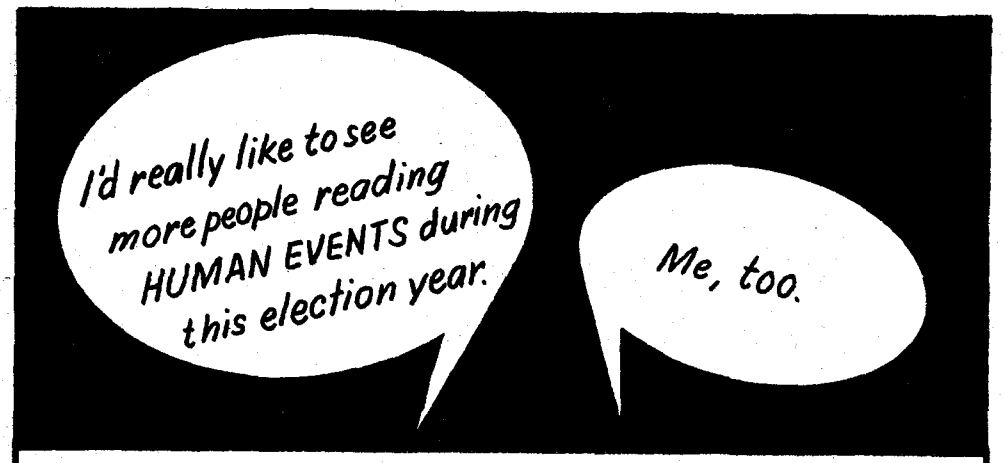

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New Brookings Study

The Eastern Establishment: Stronger Than Ever in Capital

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

To listen to some political wiseacres, the days of the Eastern Establishment are over. President Johnson has turned the government over to Texans. This myth is also propagated by political cartoonists and by those who have always laughed at the idea that the government of the United States has become the quasi-monopoly of a small group of Eastern-educated-and-oriented officials.

The fact of the matter, as a new study by the Brookings Institution shows, is that the Eastern Establishment has strengthened its hold on the reins of government under Lyndon Johnson. The study also shows that this hold is on a revolving basis, with Establishment officeholders remaining at their government jobs for an average of two years. This may explain why the federal government seems to grow less efficient and less professional as the years go by.

Taking the 1,000 appointees in high-level federal positions under five Presidents, the Brookings study shows that

Surprisingly, it was President Truman (above) who brought the youngest men into federal service, not the late President Kennedy.

more than half came from the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic census regions. The most under-represented areas were the Middle West and the Southwest. Only under President Eisenhower was there any attempt at righting the geographical balance.

But the importance of the Eastern Establishment can be seen in other statistics. Says the Brookings Institution in "Men Who Govern":

Forty per cent of all (government) executives came from only 18 colleges. This concentration in prestige colleges increased over the years, from 36 per cent in the Roosevelt Administration to 45 per cent in the case of President Johnson. Similarly, the proportion from the Ivy League colleges steadily increased from 19 per cent under Roosevelt to 29 per cent under Johnson, and that "from the 'Big Three' (Harvard, Princeton and Yale) increased from 16 per cent in the Roosevelt era to an all-time high of 25 per cent under Johnson."

Interestingly enough, the fatuity of the charge against the Republicans that they would turn out the minorities and bring in the WASPs—the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants—is demonstrated by the religious affiliations of the 1,000 executives, most of whom were appointed by Democratic Presidents. The Brookings study shows that of these executives, 77 per cent were Protestants, 19 per cent Catholic, and 4 per cent Jewish.

Contrary to popular belief, it was Harry S. Truman and not John F. Kennedy who brought the youngest men into government. The median age of Truman appointees was 46, of Kennedy appointees 47, of Johnson appointees 48, of Roosevelt appointees 49, and of Eisenhower appointees 51.

And summing up the average government executive, the study finds that he is 46, came from a large Eastern city, earned a law degree at one of the Eastern prestige colleges, and entered the government from a large law or manufacturing firm.

In short, the charge of the Goldwater Republicans—that what amounts to a small and privileged section of the population controlled the Federal Establishment—has now been proved statistically. This charge was parent to a further charge that, because of their backgrounds, those in power did not understand the needs of the country and saw all problems from a vantage point that excluded the majority of the population.

This may explain the sameness of the programs which each Administration proposes and the failure of many of these programs to win the support or respect of a substantial body of Americans. It explains why the Midwest, the central Southern states, and the Southwest tend to look at Washington with so much suspicion and bitterness.

For those who have surveyed the Washington scene as reporters or as political analysts, the truth of the Brookings study has long been manifest. Now they have scholarly backing in "Men Who Govern." It would be interesting to make a similar study of the Congress over the past three decades.

How many of the men who legislate for America, whatever their districts may be, were educated in Ivy League colleges? How many went to schools and made their start in the states of their origin? Is the Eastern Establishment a force in Congress? And how about the judiciary? The answers to these questions may explain much about the political nature of the federal government, its legislative arm, and the courts that enforce our laws.

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TWEEDLEDEE, TWEEDLEDUM—"For Gardner Ackley, who has been chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, President Johnson has substituted Author M. Okun, a former Yale professor who has sat on the council since 1964. Mr. Okun, 39, brings youth to the job. But, like Mr. Ackley, he follows the tired and suspect old line known as the New Economics. Mr. Ackley moves to Italy, where he reportedly has sentimental attachments. Hopefully, the Italians will like his friendly attitude toward them and will reciprocate. Certainly, if American-Italian relations are to remain cordial, it is fortunate that Mr. Ackley goes as ambassador, rather than economic adviser."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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The Rise and Stand of George Corley Wallace

By VICTOR GOLD

From the outset of his remarkable political career, George Corley Wallace has always looked one election down the road.

As James E. (Big Jim) Folsom's south Alabama campaign manager in 1954, then Circuit Judge Wallace laid the red clay groundwork for his own gubernatorial race four years later. Though defeated in 1958 by John Patterson, Wallace immediately launched his 1962 campaign for governor before Patterson was even sworn into office. Finally winning the governorship in '62, Wallace within four months converted the front walk of the University of Alabama's Foster Auditorium into a national springboard that sent him winging into the 1964 presidential primaries, which in turn. . . .

Small wonder that the question in Alabama today, despite the recent recurrence of Lurleen Wallace's illness, is not *what* makes George Wallace run, but where and when he intends to stop running. And the answer, according to Alabamians most familiar with his rise from statewide obscurity to national prominence, is nowhere short of the White House—in 1972.

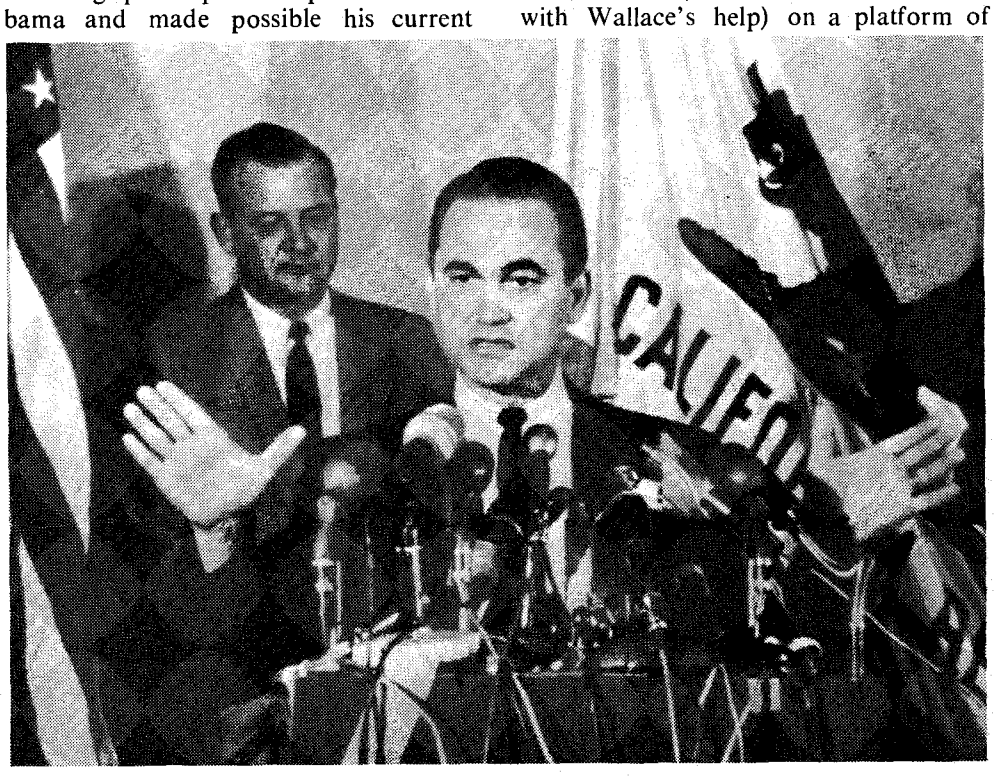
To be sure, George Wallace, a political realist, knows that even if the latest of long hot summers of racial violence has enhanced his political appeal beyond the Mason-Dixon line, sophisticated Easterners and their Las Vegas oddsmakers still regard the idea of "the Fighting Little Judge" from Clio, Ala., padding around the Lincoln Room in his Confederate grey pajamas as the stuff from which Broadway musical comedies are made. And he knows that this year the best a Wallace third-party candidacy can do (or worst, as the case may be) will be to gum up the country's electoral machinery and perhaps exert a modicum of political leverage of the major parties and candidates.

But then again, what sophisticate or oddsmaker a few years ago would have predicted that come 1968 a former governor of Alabama, operating out of the branchheads rather than the mainstream of American political life, would accomplish even that?

Moreover, having learned his trade in a state where politics is the art not so much of the possible as the *improbable,* Wallace also knows that voracious ambition is not fed on realism alone. After all, if he had been an undiluted realist he might still be an Alabama circuit judge. Perhaps not even that, since it was hardly an act of political realism to have challenged an incumbent jurist named Preston Clayton for a judicial seat located, not uncoincidentally, in a town named Clayton. But Wallace, going against both the Establishment and the odds, did just that, and won.

Indeed, the record shows that bucking the Establishment and the odds has been a Wallace penchant from his undergraduate political days at the University of Alabama, when he was a non-affiliated country boy challenging the big city boys' fraternity machine for control of student government, right down to the movement in early 1966 when he decided to run his wife for governor, although, as he concedes, "Nobody in this state but me thought she could get elected . . . " (including, we are left to surmise, the prospective candidate herself).

But the gamble of gambles, the calculated risk that gave him an unprecedented grip on political power in Alabama and made possible his current bid to "Stand Up for America" as a presidential candidate, occurred that bright Tuscaloosa afternoon in May 1963, when then Gov. Wallace burst across national television screens in charismatic confrontation with then Deputy Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach and two would-be Negro matriculants at the University of Alabama.



Ex-Gov. Wallace last month announced that the American Independent party had collected enough signatures to get on the ballot in California.

It is typical of Wallace's anomalous career that his "stand at the schoolhouse door," though viewed by millions, remains one of the more obscure political events of our time, obfuscated in equal part by Wallaceites and anti-Wallaceites.

Questions are raised: What were the circumstances surrounding the Justice Department's aerial surveillance of the campus and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy's contacts with state and university officials in the days preceding the confrontation? Was the entire affair a choreographed, pre-arranged political charade, as charged in 1966 by Lurleen Wallace's Republican opponent, James Martin? Or was Wallace indeed manning the parapets of constitutional principle?

Did Wallace "back down" from a pledge to go to jail, if necessary, to make his constitutional point? Or did he, although finally stepping aside, leave Katzenbach with knees aquiver, as was reported at the time by one Alabama political commentator?

In Alabama, almost five years after the event, these questions still trigger fierce and windy arguments—disputes so colored by current political passions that it remains for the passage of time alone to provide light instead of heat to the subject. But this much is beyond dispute: If Wallace lost the constitutional confrontation, he won the political war. True, at last count, approximately 300 Negroes were attending the University of Alabama as students. But at last poll, George Wallace, now governor by proxy, held the allegiance of his state's white majority as has no man before, not even his Populist predecessors, Bibb Graves in the 1920s and '30s, and Jim Folsom in the '40s and '50s.

Wallace is, of course, in direct line of political descent from Graves, "the Little Colonel" who fought rural Alabamians' fight against Birmingham's "Big Mule" industrialists, and Folsom, "the Little Man's Big Friend" who was twice elected (the second time, as noted, with Wallace's help) on a platform of soaking "the Gotrocks" and expanding state spending programs.

In fact, much of the confusion regarding Wallace's true ideological bent —whether he is "conservative" or "liberal"—stems from a futile effort to translate the distinctive cast of Southern Populist tradition into national political terms.

Pointing up this semantic conflict, Wallace says he is a conservative "in the sense that I am against government regulations," although his administration in Alabama was undeniably marked by an expansion of centralized state power at the expense of local governments. His rationale: that "local governments" within a state are mere component subdivisions, while on the national level, the federal government, far from having created the states, was their creation.

This is a correct constitutional distinction, to be sure. But to a local or county school board in Alabama, elected by and for the citizens of the immediate area and threatened by overriding state authority out of Montgomery, "government regulation" is "government regulation" —and George Wallace's "conservatism" on the matter of local government is open to question.

Moreover, in a "Meet the Press" appearance last year, Wallace himself compounded that question when he explained that his well-known "segregation today . . . segregation tomorrow . . . segregation forever!" inaugural pledge wasn't meant to be taken literally, only symbolically. What it really meant, he told Lawrence Spivak, was "local government forever!"

But, Wallace's critics ask, if the word "segregation" uttered in 1963 can be redefined as "local government" in 1967, what might "local government" come to mean when fresh political "symbolism" is called for by "President" Wallace in the years ahead? ("*The question is,*" *said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."*)

As Spivak and other experts at cross-examination have learned, however, there is no yardage to be gained by pursuing such semantic points with George Wallace. Second to no man on the contemporary political scene, he has proved himself a master at verbal counterattack, whether confronted by a Nicholas Katzenbach, a national correspondent—or a constitutional nicety not to his "conservative" liking. And this, too, is beyond dispute. For if it were not the case, Lurleen Burns Wallace would be a former First Lady today instead of governor of Alabama, having succeeded a governor constitutionally barred from succeeding himself.

Again, there is the question raised by traditional conservatives regarding the Wallace Administration's unprecedented borrow, tax, spend (and elect) philosophy. The gross disbursements of the State of Alabama, for example, were $963 million when Wallace came to office. Now they are $1.44 billion, an increase of 50 per cent. In five years under the Wallaces, the state's bonded indebtedness had tripled—$750 million in new borrowing.

Wallace "proudly" justifies and defends this spending on grounds that he is "for progress"; e.g., the most massive construction and biggest pension expenditures in the state's history, along with other government "benefits" financed only partially by the expanded borrowing, a 4 per cent sales tax, doubled drivers' license fees and additional levies on the fiscal resources and credit of the state and its three million citizens.

But by Wallace's "symbolic" definition, these programs are also "conservative," as opposed to "liberal," because, among other things in their favor, "at least we're not spending the money to build roads in Cuba or India."

For Alabamians over the age of 21, the Cuba-India line has a familiar ring. It is of a chord with Big Jim Folsom's anti-foreign policy utterings two decades ago, when Folsom was governor of Alabama and George Wallace was a young member of his legislative voting bloc.

Wallace today prefers to forget his past connection with Folsom, whose roller coaster state administration and personal vagaries ultimately palled even his staunchest branchhead supporters. But though now repudiated by his constituency and surpassed by his own political proteges, the giraffish Folsom dominated the state's political scene in the years when Wallace was first running for public office.

So it was that in the year 1948, when both men had reached the half-way mark in their respective terms in the Mansion and the Alabama House, Folsom aspired to become the first Deep Southerner ever elected President, and Wallace, watching the governor foolishly dissipate his resources, learned valuable lessons for the future.

Indeed, the parallel between the grounded Folsom-for-President drive of '48 and the "Stand Up for America" campaign is an excellent point of departure for an analysis of the Wallace record, especially for those non-Alabamians who have known him only since 1963 and who now see in his candidacy (or think they see) a grass-roots "conservative" movement.

Not since Louisiana's Sen. Huey P.

(Continued on next page)

Spending most of his early adult life in Alabama, Victor Gold was graduated from the University of Alabama Law School in 1951 and practiced law in Birmingham from 1952 to 1958. During these years, he closely observed the career of George Wallace and watched him rise rapidly to become a prominent figure in the state. Toward the end of '58, Mr. Gold came to Washington, D.C., where he now runs his own political public relations firm called Victor Gold Associates. A former assistant press secretary to Barry Goldwater during the 1964 presidential race, Mr. Gold regularly visits Alabama and other states below the Mason-Dixon line to keep in touch with the political picture there.

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Long and his "Share-Our-Wealth" third-party movement has any Deep Southern leader received such intense national media exposure. Yet the entire focus has been on the Governor Who Stood at the Schoolhouse Door, and the road he took from there—that is, the Wallace record from 1963 to the present.

Save for an "authorized" biography by his press secretary which gave a sanitized version of these early years, little detail has been furnished concerning the pre-Stand Wallace: the man on the rise who, before he could challenge the national Establishment, took on that of his own state—defeated it—then re-created it in his own image. (Thus, testifying to his final victory over the city boys, the "unofficial" Alabama auto plate today proclaims, **This Is Wallace Country.**)

Well, then, the question recurs, what exactly is George Wallace? "Conservative"? "Liberal"? "Populist"? An examination of the Alabama record, 1948-63, retracing the steps that led to the Schoolhouse Door, might provide the answers that have thus far evaded even the probes of Lawrence Spivak and other skilled inquisitors like him.

And certainly Wallace himself, by repeated attacks on California Gov. Ronald Reagan's "liberal" past, has invited a review of his own ideological origins.

Big Jim Folsom and other Alabamians remember George Wallace under another label—Folsomite. Like "Share - Our - Wealth," "Folsomism" was a regional political phenomenon that never fulfilled its national ambitions. There was a time in Alabama, however, when Folsomism was a label that young non-Establishment "outs" like George Wallace did not shun.

And yet, how many people today—even in Alabama—remember the mayfly Folsom presidential candidacy of 20 years ago? It was announced in a political season (Jan. 27, 1948) when, as now, a poll-depressed Democratic President faced the prospect of a splintered party coalition. Anticipating a year when anything might happen at the polls, Folsom, still an ambitious young Alabama governor, asked for a popular mandate to lay siege to the Democratic convention at Philadelphia in July, there to "raise a banner we can fight for." And what kind of banner would that be? "Liberal"? "Conservative"? Like Wallace's unfurling banner of 1968, it was both—and neither.

On the extreme left hand, despite the Alabama delegation's support for Harry Truman's vice presidential candidacy, Folsom had been a *Henry* Wallace delegate at the 1944 Democratic convention ("because of personal convictions," he said). Further, according to the London *Economist,* Folsom had won the governorship in 1946 "on the most liberal platform ever offered in Alabama."

But, on the other hand, this Henry Wallace fan, this "liberal," told members of the tongue-clucking Eastern press that if elected President he would operate on the principle that "racial barriers is a states' right proposition, and that is a question that should be worked out by each individual state."

(*Wallace in '67: "I am for Alabama determining the policy of her school system. And if she feels that in the best interests of both races a certain type system should exist, then that system should exist. The state of New York should determine the policies of her school system."*)

As for the direction in which he would take the country if elected President, the "liberal" Alabama aspirant of 1948 promised to "mop up the monopolists, the Wall Street lawyers"—so far, so "liberal," but wait—"and the State Department fancy pants." (At this verbal juncture, it may be imagined, Chester Bowles dropped his end of the fighting banner.)

Folsom attacked the Democratic administration's Departments of State, Defense and Commerce (substituting only *Justice* for *Commerce,* George Wallace has followed the same script); Folsom blistered the foreign aid program ("The countries where this country is handing out guns and bribes are getting weaker, while the Communists and kings and dictators are getting stronger"); and to sum up his foreign policy views, he

Former Alabama Gov. Jim Folsom, here testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee in 1949 urging a "general tax to support everybody" over 65, was Wallace's political mentor.

offered a 6 ft. 8 in. opinion, assessing the Cold War situation, that any "three good men" from the cotton belt, wheat belt and mountains "could straighten the world out in three months."

(*Wallace in '67: "Any man plowing a mule down there . . . any man with a second-grade education knew that Castro was bad . . . any cab driver in Montgomery . . . knows more about why we're in Viet Nam than a Yale professor sitting up there in his ivory tower."*)

On the economic front, Folsom's '48 platform promised to "cover the entire United States with TVAs," and otherwise to expand federal "benefits" by redirecting foreign aid monies "slushed" around the world "at the expense of American roads, schools and buildings." Two decades later, Wallace—"for progress" and an enthusiastic TVA supporter in his own right—wants it clearly understood that he isn't one of those "ultras who is against everything," since, after all, it's not the federal spending programs that are wrong, only "the bureaucrats" who enforce them (and, besides, we're not "slushing" it "to build roads in Cuba or India," are we?).

And for what purpose, after all, did Folsom offer himself as a candidate for President? Why, to carry the little man's fight to thousands of court houses across the nation—to give the people a choice—to shake the two-party system out of its lethargy. "Both parties have bungled," said Folsom. "One party or the other should take the opposite view."

(*Wallace in '67: "There's not any difference in the national Republicans and the national Democrats. In other words, it's Tweedledum and Tweedledee."*)

But if the Folsom and Wallace presidential candidacies bear similarity in philosophy and platform, the parallel ends abruptly at the point where the electoral skills of Wallace, the political heir, exceed those of Folsom, the progenitor. For, while Wallace is emerging as a national force in 1968, Big Jim's '48 campaign proved an ignominious fizzle.

In the hot, early July hours when Harry Truman accepted the nomination at Philadelphia, the governor of Alabama was far removed from the scene—as were a number of other Alabamians who, sent to the convention, took premature leave because of differences with the national party over racial segregation policies. In fact, the record shows it was the Alabama delegation, led by Folsom's '46 gubernatorial opponent, Handy Ellis, and then Birmingham Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, that led the historic "Dixiecrat" walkout.

And here we come to another contradictory note in tracing the ideological claims of George Corley Wallace. For the record also shows that whatever Presidential Candidate Wallace now thinks about the need for an independent third-party state's rights movement, State Rep. Wallace, as a member of the Alabama delegation, failed to join the state's rights brigade that charged out of Convention Hall 20 years ago.

His refusal to join the walkout, though hailed by Folsom and other Democratic "loyalists," was nonetheless a short-range political gamble. In the weeks following, the nomination of South Carolina Gov. Strom Thurmond for President and Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright for vice president, State's Rights party sentiment swept the Deep South, much as Wallace sentiment does today. But the gamble, like other calculated Wallace risks, paid off in the end.

He concluded that, in Alabama, loyalty to the Democratic party was the best long-range policy, no doubt remembering the wreckage of the career of U.S. Sen. Thomas J. Heflin, who had bolted to Hoover in 1928. And sure enough, despite the success of the Thurmond-Wright ticket in Alabama and nearby states in '48, within two years the Hill-Sparkman political faction, loyal to the national Democratic party, had recaptured the Alabama state central committee machinery. The "Dixiecrats" were out of business. But State Rep. Wallace, having kept his seat while all about him were leaving theirs, was very much a going political concern.

And "conservative" claims or no, Wallace to this day is sufficiently "loyal" to the Democratic standard to see his way clear to endorsing the re-election of a "liberal" Congressman like Rep. Bob Jones, whose ACA rating is lower even than one of the ex-governor's favorite targets, Sen. Jacob Javits.

In fact, emphasizing his allegiance to the Democratic party label, Wallace is on record with the rather un-conservative opinion that LBJ Loyalist Jones is better presidential timber than Republican Gov. Reagan.

Re-elected to the House in 1950, Wallace continued to advocate "liberal" Folsom programs during the early years of the administration of Big Jim's successor (and, as time would prove, his predecessor), Gordon Persons. As a member of the legislature, the representative from Barbour County distinguished himself by his fight against sales tax proposals (though he would approve a sales tax increase as governor) and otherwise made a significant legislative contribution by initiating the Wallace Act, a revenue bond measure enabling Alabama municipalities to grant tax exemptions to new industry moving into their area.

Still, Wallace was unknown in most parts of the state. Then, in 1952, when he plunged into the race against Circuit Judge Clayton, he attracted the attention of interested political observers throughout the state. The contest was closely watched by Montgomery professionals as a possible straw vote in the wind for the '54 governor's race.

It was not Wallace's gubernatorial possibilities that were being assessed, needless to say, but those of Big Jim Folsom. Clayton was strongly backed by the Persons Administration (he was, in fact, appointed to the State Supreme Court after his defeat by Wallace), and the Montgomery consensus was that a Wallace win would mean Folsom's stock was going up in direct ratio to the decline of Persons'.

Wallace's uphill victory over Clayton, therefore, signaled a Folsom resurgence. And two years later the "Little Judge," as he now styled himself, enthusiastically took over the south Alabama managership of Folsom's tornadic "Y'all Come" campaign for re-election—though an interesting attempted revision of this appointment deserves mention.

It is Wallace's latter-day contention—at least, he would have it so in any political biography—that he agreed to serve as Folsom's campaign manager only in order to repay a political debt incurred when Big Jim, during his first term, located a trade school in Wallace's part of the state.

If this is the fact, however, then observers of that '54 race can attest to the fact that a Wallace reluctant is worth any three campaign managers in

By putting his wife Lurleen into the governor's chair, Wallace managed to sidestep the Alabama constitution which specifies that the governor may not succeed himself.

full cry. The "Little Judge" was omnipresent, hyperactive. He organized. He buttonholed. He took a personal hand in the production of a television documentary extolling his candidate's past record and future promise. He introduced Big Jim at rallies, answering opposition charges that the first Folsom administration had been fast and loose with state monies, by challenging—and the words came back to haunt him in the years that followed—"If that's Folsomism, then I'm for Folsomism!"

Folsom won the May primary election without a run-off. Then, three short weeks later, the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its first school desegregation decision, and small tremors—soon to reach seismographic proportions—shook Alabama's political structure. Six months after Big Jim was sworn in for his second term, his political stock was plummeting and the word was out that he and his erstwhile south Alabama campaign manager had "broken."

What came to be called "seg" politics, in the cynical vernacular of the state's professionals, was now the dominant theme of all campaigns for office, overshadowing every other issue. Thus, when Circuit Judge Wallace threatened to incarcerate any FBI "snoopers" who might come within his jurisdiction to examine voting records, he got his first statewide headlines. Now he was the "Fighting Little Judge."

Having broken with Folsom and taken a seemingly bold position in opposition to federal desegregation efforts, Wallace at age 37 was by now ready for his own run for the Mansion.

There were formidable obstacles in his path, however, the greatest being that the political atmosphere was so trenchantly anti-Folsom as to place any of the governor's former associates under a heavy campaign handicap. (Among his other fiscal, strategic and tactical errors, Big Jim, at the height of a ra-

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cially tense situation, had invited Rep. Adam Clayton Powell to the Mansion for a Scotch-and-soda.)

That Wallace was able to overcome the handicap of having supported Folsom—in fact, surfacing as a leading candidate to rescue the state *from* "Folsomism" after a few weeks—was tribute to his fast-developing political genius. And though this first gubernatorial race was a losing effort, national party leaders and candidates who might underestimate Wallace's potential would do well to contemplate what the "Fighting Little Judge" achieved during an intensive four months' campaigning: (1) he won the support of a large number of Folsom campaign leaders and followers, along with (2) the endorsement of several of Alabama's most vehement anti-Folsom dailies; and (3) a sizable number of conservative businessmen who were impressed by the Wallace Act and his repudiation of "Folsomism"; (4) but not so much as to exclude the state's AFL-CIO which also endorsed him because of his pro-labor legislative record and his past affiliation with Folsom!

Two significant stories emerged from the Wallace-Patterson run-off campaign that year—both bearing on his successful race four years later:

(1) Following his defeat, Wallace was quoted to the effect that he would never again be "outsegged" by any opponent. Wallace denies this story, and it may indeed be no more than campaign apocrypha. But this much is known: when Wallace learned that the hard-line segregationist vote was going to Patterson, he pitched his run-off theme to branding his opponent "the Ku Klux Klan candidate." In Washington, Columnist Drew Pearson tagged Patterson as the KKK favorite, picturing Wallace to his national readership as an Alabama "liberal" who was making a last-ditch political stand against bigotry. In 1962, however, Wallace did not choose to recast himself in this role, but instead became the favorite candidate of the hard-line segregationist vote that had gone to Patterson.

(2) In the heat of the campaign Patterson promised that, if elected, he would provide an average state old age pension of $75 a month. Wallace, however, refused to commit himself to a specific figure, and as a result, the pensioner vote was fast slipping to Patterson. Pulling Wallace aside in a Mobile hotel lobby, outgoing Gov. Folsom, disliking Patterson and therefore rising above the affront of Wallace's new anti-Folsom image, shook his massive head and declared, "George, I taught you better than that, didn't I? The only answer to a $75 pension promise is an $80 pension promise!"

Whether these stories are true or apocryphal, Wallace in 1962 was neither "outsegged" nor "outpensioned."

Running against his former pupil, Folsom himself was the victim of his own advice. When the sorcerer opened his campaign with an $80 pension pledge, Wallace kicked off his campaign with a $100 bid. Within days Folsom, in a stump speech, increased his figure to equal Wallace's. But then the apprentice, announcing that he had restudied the state's revenue possibilities, declared he could do better than $100. Ten dollars better, in fact. There, at $110, the bidding stopped. (Footnote to history, for what it may reveal about Alabama political credibility: the average pension payment during the George Wallace Administration was $80.)

Wallace, carrying the old-age vote and the segregationist vote, as well as most of the old Folsom branchheads vote, led the ticket, soundly defeating his run-off opponent, State Sen. Ryan DeGraffenried, to win the governorship. And Folsomism was dead . . . or perhaps it had only taken new shape and more formidable dimension.

Oddly, in the months of decision following the January 1963 inauguration, many of Wallace's campaign supporters —including a number of self-styled "moderate" editors—deplored his announced intention to make his stand. Possibly, they had been encouraged to believe that the pledge made in the gust of an Alabama primary was mere stump oratory. Or perhaps, without direct encouragement, they had concluded that George, after all, was a realist, and being a realist. . . .

But they were wrong. Along with others who contributed to the political advancement of George Corley Wallace, friends and opponents alike, they had misjudged their man and underestimated his potential.

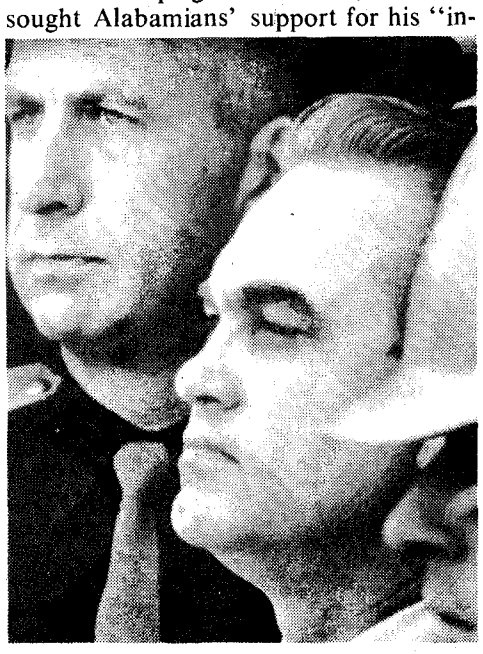
During his four years in the governor's chair, George Wallace proved, at least through his expansive economic and fiscal policies, to be a true disciple of the Bibb Graves-Jim Folsom school of Alabama Populist politics—with a significant difference, however. Despite personal popularity, neither Graves nor Folsom was able to maintain consistent influence for any length of time with the traditionally conservative independent Alabama Legislature.

Thus, there was no precedent for the way in which Wallace, the disciple, successfully put his programs and favored projects through the legislature, by turns cajoling, threatening and arm-twisting, in a manner much like that used by Lyndon Johnson in his relations with Congress.

Highway funds, as well as the location of trade schools, were the slices of pork which the governor drew from the legislative barrel in order to get individual legislators' support for his programs.

The governor's every speech might be laced with withering references to the federal government—but he was nonetheless unabashed that a large percentage of funds used to create his "Wallace program" came down from Washington. In fact, Alabama receives $2.50 from the national government for every $1 in federal taxes it sends in.

"He stood for you!" proclaimed the Wallace campaign line in '64, when he sought Alabamians' support for his "independent elector" movement, and again Lurleen Wallace's gubernatorial race.



George Wallace, flanked by troopers and guardsmen, makes his celebrated 1963 "stand at the schoolhouse door," thus setting the stage for his national ambitions.

That he stood is an irresistible fact of Alabama political life. Precisely what he stood *for*—that is, what he accomplished in the way of "raising constitutional issues," is not so clear. Nor is it clear what kind of America George Corley Wallace would "stand up" for, if he should become President of the United States. (And there are those outside Alabama, including at least one sophisticated national commentator, who no longer consider this prospect as a Broadway musical plot line.) For *where* does Wallace "stand" and *what* does Wallaceism stand for?

Is it the movement of the "liberal" Wallace, described by Drew Pearson and remembered by Alabamians who a decade ago watched him roar approval of his outsized candidate's castigation of the "Wall Street Gotrocks," "the damned decency crowd," and "them Hoover Republicans?"

Or is it the "conservative" Wallace now heard berating Bobby Kennedy, the beatniks and the draft-card burners?

The self-declared "state's righter" who not only opposed the State's Rights-ers in '48 but who as governor publicly endorsed the principle of federal aid to education and other welfare and give-away programs which move the federal government into areas previously controlled by states?

The "constitutionalist" who outdid even Folsom in shattering his own state's constitutional injunction against the establishment of a too-powerful central authority? Or the anti-LBJ Democrat whose presidential candidacy could help re-elect LBJ in a close '68 election?

Or is he none of these, not of a mold at all, but simply, as Huey P. Long once described himself, *sui generis?* As far as Wallace is concerned, let others argue their ideology and brandish their labels. George Wallace—who is nothing if not a realist—looks one election down the road and knows what the real question is. For him, it is not the meaning of the words that counts but simply who is to be master—that's all.

Poll of Conservatives on Wallace

On Nov. 20, 1967, **Human Events** mailed a questionnaire about George Wallace and his candidacy to 220 conservative writers, politicians and organization heads—most of the leading names in American conservatism. About half of those polled have replied and other surveys are still trickling in, but the trend has not changed appreciably since the first several dozen replies. Answers have been received from a wide variety of conservatives: Southern Democratic congressmen, office-holding Republicans like Reps. George Hansen, Thomas Curtis and Edward Derwinski and Sen. Paul Fannin, book publisher Henry Regnery, Indianapolis **Star** Editor Jameson G. Campaigne, Dean Clarence Manion, Oakley Bramble of Constitutional Alliance, Southern magazine publisher Tom Anderson and columnists Walter Trohan and Holmes Alexander.

Here are the results of this **Human Events** poll:

1. Do you believe Mr. Wallace to be a fiscal conservative?

Yes **30%** No **51%** No Opinion **19%**

2. Will Mr. Wallace's candidacy on a third party ticket in the November election help or hurt the re-election of President Johnson?

In the North....Help **58%**	Hurt **33%**	No Opinion **9%**
In the South....Help **72%**	Hurt **22%**	No Opinion **6%**
Country as a whole....Help **64%**	Hurt **26%**	No Opinion **10%**

3. Will Mr. Wallace's candidacy help or hurt the election of conservatives running for the House and Senate?

Help **14%** Hurt **69%** No Opinion **17%**

4. Will the effect of Mr. Wallace's candidacy be to strengthen or to hurt the conservative movement in America?

Strengthen **16%** Hurt **74%** No Opinion **10%**

5. How would you vote in the 1968 general election given the following possibilities?

a. Nixon....**79%**	Johnson **5%**	Wallace **8%**	No Preference **8%**
b. Reagan....**78%**	Johnson **9%**	Wallace **3%**	No Preference **10%**
c. Romney....**45%**	Johnson **13%**	Wallace **23%**	No Preference **19%**
d. Percy....**41%**	Johnson **15%**	Wallace **23%**	No Preference **21%**
e. Rockefeller...**43%**	Johnson **12%**	Wallace **23%**	No Preference **22%**

6. Do you believe Mr. Wallace is knowingly conducting a campaign that is calculated to appeal to racial prejudices?

Yes **68%** No **25%** No Opinion **7%**

Columnist Henry Hazlitt's comment on what effect a Wallace campaign will have was typical of many. "Mr. Wallace's candidacy," wrote Mr. Hazlitt, "will simply split the anti-Johnson vote and enable him to win, even though only a minority of the electorate votes for him." Author William Henry Chamberlin, who regularly contributes to the **Wall Street Journal**, voiced a similar opinion: "The candidacy of Mr. Wallace would be a misfortune for a conservative Republican, because it would siphon off votes for a man who could not be elected." Unlike many, however, Mr. Chamberlin would not even vote for Wallace as a protest if the GOP candidate were Rockefeller, Percy or Romney, because, he says, Wallace "is not, in my opinion, of presidential calibre, especially in the very important field of foreign affairs."

William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) **Union Leader**, had a very interesting thesis: "My advice to a conservative would be to support Mr. Wallace on a third party ticket if neither Nixon nor Reagan were the Republican nominee. This advice would change if, at the time of the campaign, it was indicated that support for Wallace might make Johnson lose. In that case the conservatives should vote for Johnson. I advocate this for two reasons. First, I feel it would be subsequently easier for real conservatives to win in '72 against the Democratic party in that year than it would to defeat Romney, Rockefeller or Percy. . . . Secondly, while President Johnson's policy on Viet Nam is not vigorous enough, it is certainly better than that advocated by Romney and Percy and presumably by Rockefeller."

Columnist Ralph de Toledano, who would not vote for Wallace under any conditions but would vote for Johnson or "go fishing" if the Republican candidate were Rockefeller, Romney or Percy, gives this appraisal of the former Alabama governor: "I think it is a mistake to think of George Wallace as some kind of a yahoo. He is a shrewd and highly intelligent politician. And he knows exactly what he is doing. He knows what his candidacy will do to the conservative movement in America and it does not bother him. I don't blame him for this. After all, he does not share our views on fiscal responsibility or on anything except states rights."

Wallace also did not fare well among younger conservatives. For example, editor Arnold Steinberg of the **New Guard**, the Young Americans for Freedom magazine, former **New Guard** editor David Franke and **Rally** editor Timothy Wheeler are all opposed to Wallace, even as a protest candidate.

In sum, the Gallup or Harris polls might show a growing support for Wallace, but it does not appear that such backing will come from the leaders of the American conservative movement—particularly if the Republican candidate is Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan.

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Dr. Spock Take Note

Nuremberg Laws No Protection for Draft Dodgers in America

By MICHAEL A. MUSMANNO

(Dr. Benjamin Spock, indicted for conspiring to persuade young men to resist the draft, has cited the Nuremberg war crimes trials to defend his actions.

The North American Newspaper Alliance asked a former judge of the international war crimes trials at Nuremberg to reply. Justice Michael A. Musmanno is now on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.)

It is regrettable that so many misconceptions are afloat about the law laid down at the Nuremberg international war crimes trials. I was a judge at Nuremberg and participated in many decisions. I state, as a matter of historical record, and not as any theory, that in the two years I was in Nuremberg not a single person was punished or convicted, or indeed even indicted, because he obeyed a conscriptive order of the German government.

A person who is drafted by the government for military service cannot defy the summons on the basis that he disagrees with the policy of the government. A representative government, as is the government of the United States, must depend upon the obedience of its citizens if the nation is to retain health, strength and power to maintain law and order as well as respect for life and property.

Congress, which is made up of persons elected by the people, has enacted certain measures which the Congress, in its collective democratic wisdom, has decided are necessary to preserve the territorial integrity of the nation as well as its freedom-abiding institutions. No individual, therefore, has the right to put himself above the constitutional enactments of the nation. Otherwise we would have not a civilized nation but a demoralized country reeling in the tornado of anarchy and chaos.

Nor was there any decision to the contrary in Nuremberg. What we decided in Nuremberg is that a person who is ordered to commit murder is required to make some effort to avoid dipping his hands in innocent blood.

For instance, if a sergeant is directed by his captain to shoot the general, the sergeant has the moral and legal obligation to object. If a soldier is ordered by a superior officer to machine-gun a hundred unarmed helpless children, he is required, under the laws of humanity and, indeed, international law, to resist the order. And if he does not resist to the extent that he is capable of resisting, he is punishable by the law of nations.

But this is altogether different from a refusal to obey the order of the government to shoulder a rifle to resist the aggression of a force threatening the security of one's country.

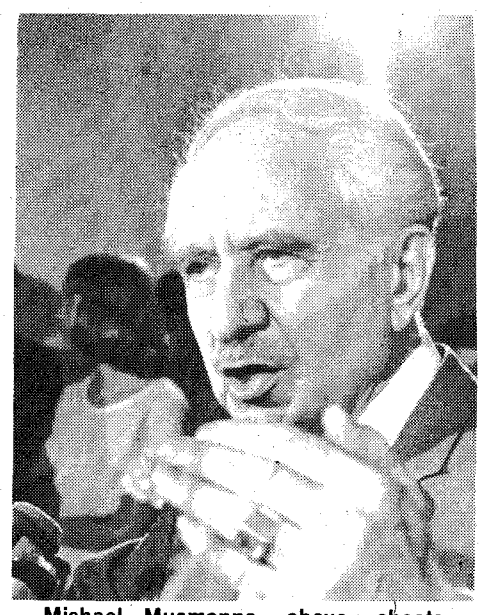
Those in Nuremberg who were convicted of crime were those who, willingly and with full awareness of what was involved, engaged in the commission of acts which, from the days of creation, have been acknowledged to be criminal and which had nothing to do with honorable combat on the field of battle.

I presided over what was known as the *Einsatzgruppen* case, a trial which has been described as the "biggest murder trial in history." Twenty-three defendants were charged with killing one million men, women and children. These 23 men acted under orders to kill Jews. Under these orders they entered into territory where all military conflict had ceased, they seized unarmed, unoffending men, women and children (including children in their mother's arms), loaded them into trucks, transported them into nearby woods, where ditches had been dug, and had them shot so that their bodies dropped into the improvised muddy graves. This operation had absolutely nothing to do with war. It was out-and-out murder.

Our tribunal held that the fact that the defendants acted under a superior's order was no defense. The defendants had a duty to resist. Indeed, it was shown that if one could not in conscience participate in this mass slaughter, he could avoid that participation by volunteering to go to the fighting front.

Of course, the defendants refused this offer because they knew that at the front, when they fired at the other side, the other side would shoot back. Thus they preferred to engage in the massacre, safe from physical harm to themselves.

I sentenced 14 of the *Einsatzgruppen* defendants to hang, imposed varying terms of imprisonment on eight others,



Michael Musmanno, above, shoots down the argument used by Benjamin Spock against the draft. Said Spock in 1963: "The Nuremberg decisions say that if your government is up to crimes against humanity, then you're obligated to oppose it."

and acquitted one of the defendants who demonstrated that he had made every effort to avoid executing the criminal order.

This, of course, is obviously different from the situation where able-bodied men, being duly summoned by an act of government, are ordered to sail for Viet Nam to take part in acts of war, under the rules of war and under the aegis of the Hague Convention regarding the conduct of war.

Our bombing over Viet Nam is not in violation of international law, the rules of war, or the laws of humanity. The bombing has but one purpose and that is to so harm the enemy that he will be willing to stop fighting or enter into negotiations which will lead to an ending of the war in accordance with international law and the fundamentals of justice. The American soldiers fighting in South Viet Nam are engaged in war operations designed to prevent the enemy from killing our soldiers and to prevent them from achieving a military advantage which would endanger the security of the United States.

The civilian, therefore, who refuses to obey the order of the United States government which drafts him into the Army is, in effect, imperiling the very safety of the nation. He has no more right to object to going to Viet Nam than he would have the right to object to firing a gun in defense of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland or any other part of our nation against aggressors seeking to land on our soil.

Conscription to fight in Viet Nam is no different from the conscription which took our soldiers to Korea, Europe and the Pacific in our other foreign wars. Conscription is a scientific method of fighting war. It is the product of the best thinking of the country as to how a given war can be successfully waged and peace attained. Those who refuse to obey the conscription law are giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

And I repeat—that in Nuremberg we punished no one because, in responding to conscription, he engaged in a war against the United States. The laws we laid down at Nuremberg are wholesome, sound and salubrious.

They offer no comfort to those who, while enjoying the privileges, prerogatives and opportunities of America, are unwilling to meet their duties and sacred obligation to America and the flag.

The Nuremberg decisions which have now become international law should be enforced to the letter. The United Nations has been derelict in this regard. It should summon an international tribunal similar to the one that sat in Nuremberg to indict and try Ho Chi Minh for waging aggressive war, specifically prohibited by the Nuremberg decisions. Ho Chi Minh's refusals to enter into negotiations amount to continuing declarations of aggressive war.

The United Nations also neglected its duty when it failed to bring Gamal Abdel Nasser to trial for blockading international waterways, mobilizing troops on the border of a peace-abiding nation and rattling aggressive weapons which resulted in a war which might have precipitated a global nuclear conflict, threatening the very survival of the human race.

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INTERESTING CONTRAST—Two headlines from adjacent stories in the January 10 Washington *Post*: "Maryland Draft of Rocky Pushed: Agnew Agrees to Head State Organization" and "Gov. Agnew Backs Legalized Abortions."

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INCREASING NYC WELFARE—New York welfare rolls are swelling by 14,000 a month, reveals Mitchell I. Ginsberg, the city's Human Resources administrator. Welfare is now the city's largest budgetary item, running $1.4 billion a year.

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Will Rockefeller Pardon Powell?

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York: — No effective "Adam-smasher" will ever be invented, say Rev. Adam Clayton Powell's cheering citizenry as he heads home to Harlem.

The people in the street want him. The policy-makers in the executive suites of the world's most famous Negro community are hardly dancing in these streets. For them he means only trouble.

But his friends, especially the local labor leaders whom he phoned from his own sun-drenched Elba, are convinced he's returning soon as a prelude to running for Congress again in Manhattan's 18th District.

Powell, thoroughly enjoying his critics' discomfiture, grinning over "having turned on the heat in the zero temperature big city," will first sweep his way east to New England. Then on to Harlem. He no longer worries about jail. Insiders know that his strategists are pressuring Nelson Rockefeller's private office for a pardon.

This can be decreed "in the interest of justice" by the New York State governor for any criminal conviction. The reverend's apostles argue that only injustice can be served by having Powell—still the chosen congressman of his district—serve 30 days.

After all, they say, his was the first time any jury convicted a defendant on a criminal charge for violation of a civil court order. So Gov. Rockefeller can pardon him while his other troubles are settled in other courts.

This would electrify Negro communities everywhere, just as did the Kennedy calls in behalf of the Rev. Martin Luther King back in 1960.

Powell reckons now he can't lose—pardon or no pardon. He had to move. His only concern was his public reception in his own community.

Powell was on the spot. He had gone "Bimini" too long. Almost every week the self-styled "old man of the sea" got word by mail, phone or personal messenger, visitor and adviser that he had better demand the unclaimed congressional seat he had won with 86 per cent of the vote in the special April 11 election, or resign or at least get onto the mainland.

Depending on his mood and how close he was to the brink, he brushed them all off, gayly or sullenly. Then came word that the least he could do would be to open a Harlem office in Washington where he could minister to the needs of his people of the unrepresented congressional district.

On this he frowned—loudly. In fact, he blasted the idea. Despite the season, Washington is hotter for Powell than New York. Sooner or later he expected a special grand jury report. It had been checking his activities, his travels, his fishing excursions with some Teamsters officials, and some of his expense vouchers.

Finally, he learned that Negro leaders who described themselves as a "nine-member bloc of state legislators from New York City's black ghettos" planned to fly to Bimini to demand he either

Former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell left Bimini for a short speaking trip last week.

return to New York or Washington, or resign his status. This was a take-your-seat-or-quit challenge.

So he moved before anyone else could. He telephoned Joe Overton, his former campaign manager, who also is executive director of the Negro Labor Committee and national secretary of the Negro-American Labor Council.

The congressman-elect asked Mr. Overton what he could expect in Harlem. The reply was not conclusive.

So Powell said he would hit the hustings. He would swing the circle from Watts to Boston for three weeks. If his reception was cool, he would go back to Bimini and stay there. If the crowds turned out and cheered, he would swing east in a series of speeches following a route which he had planned early last year.

Then he asked "Joe" to get set, but the Negro labor leader, for the moment, was not overly enthusiastic. If "Adam" is pardoned by the governor there would be no street scene. But if Powell returned, defied the sheriff and called on his younger and militant followers to go into the streets, there would be scenes aplenty.

Powell was stirred by the rip-roaring cheers and the press and TV coverage which were whipped up by his first speeches. When last heard from, he planned to go home to Harlem, gather his flock, stay out of Washington for a while, wait for grand jury action there, and return to the capital if nothing developed.

But of one thing his followers, lawyers and public relations retinue were certain. He plans to run for Congress and, if elected, attempt to speak for Negro voters everywhere.

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CHUCK PERCY returned from Viet Nam considerably more hawkish than when he left. The Illinois senator believes that the United States must continue to "pound away at the supply routes" with bombing raids over the Communist north. He feels, too, that "the Russians don't really want an end to the war."

Educational Bureaucracies

By RUSSELL KIRK

As things are going, we may have more deans and directors than there are professors in our colleges and more principals and supervisors in our schools than there are teachers. Parkinson's Law of bureaucracy operates in the realm of education, too.

Did you know, for instance, that the University of Missouri has a larger administrative staff today than the British Colonial Office possessed at the height of the British Empire? Yet the British governed a quarter of the world, and the Missouri administrators govern a few thousand professors and students. I refrain from mentioning statistics at the University of California or Michigan State or Columbia.

Or did you know that there are more school administrators (principals, supervisors and such, not teachers) in New York City's public school system than there are in the whole of France? Yet it is better to be schooled in France, generally, than in Manhattan.

Such a vast bureaucratic apparatus in education may undo itself—rather as the World Council of Churches, at its Swiss offices, so bogs itself down in paperwork that it has no time left for the salvation of souls. And usually this gigantic scale of administrative design is quite unnecessary in an institution of learning.

Only 15 years ago, when I was a research student at St. Andrews University in Scotland, the administrative officers of the whole university were lodged in one small 16th Century house. The St. Andrews deans were then—as they are now—conscript fathers, chosen to fill such posts for a brief term, whether they liked it or not. Their secretarial help was meager. And everything was administered beautifully.

An American dean, Dr. Herbert Stroup of Brooklyn College, recently published a good and learned book on this subject: Bureaucracy in Higher Education (Free Press). Dr. Stroup, sociologist and dean of students, points out that bureaucracy in some degree is inevitable in education, just as it is in virtually all modern life. But we need to inspire this bureaucracy with some imagination and to make sure it does not become too heavy a capstone for the educational arch.

Nor will it do for society to place perfect trust in the wisdom of an educational bureaucracy. The lust for power is quite as strong among many college administrators—and professors—as it is in the realms of politics or business.

As Dr. Stroup suggests, a college bureaucracy may be purblind in discerning "social demonries and virtues." He mentions that 97 per cent of all German teachers were members of the Nazi party, in Hitler's time—a higher ratio than that of any other profession.

I know some very intelligent and amiable college presidents and deans and bursars. But I shouldn't like the breed, taken as a whole, to give orders to armies and laws to nations.

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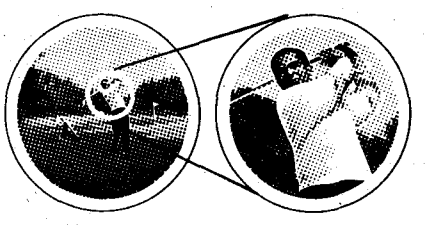

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ADA and COPE Rate Members of Congress

Below are the voting ratings of congressmen and senators which have just been issued by the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action and by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). Both ratings are for the first session of the 90th Congress.

The higher the figure the greater a member's fidelity to "liberalism" as interpreted by the ADA, while the COPE figures represent a percentage of votes the member cast in favor of issues backed by Big Labor.

ADA based its ratings on 15 House and 13 Senate rollcall votes. COPE used 12 House and 12 Senate rollcalls. Rent subsidies, the war on poverty, foreign aid, expanded Social Security and model cities legislation were among the issues included in the ratings of both organizations.

The listings are by state; Democrats first in lightface type, Republicans in **boldface**.

Senate

1967 ADA RATING / 1967 COPE RATING

ALABAMA			**COLORADO**			**HAWAII**			**KANSAS**			**MASSACHUSETTS**			**MONTANA**			**NEW MEXICO**		
Hill	15	25	**Allott**	8	17	Inouye	62	89	**Carlson**	15	0	Kennedy,E.	92	100	Mansfield	54	73	Anderson	31	70
Sparkman	8	36	**Dominick**	15	25	**Fong**	31	45	**Pearson**	15	50	**Brooke**	77	100	Metcalf	77	100	Montoya	54	90
ALASKA			**CONNECTICUT**			**IDAHO**			**KENTUCKY**			**MICHIGAN**			**NEBRASKA**			**NEW YORK**		
Bartlett	46	60	Dodd	54	88	Church	92	70	**Cooper**	46	82	Hart	92	100	**Curtis**	0	0	Kennedy,R.	100	100
Gruening	62	67	Ribicoff	85	91	**Jordan, L.**	8	0	**Morton**	31	56	**Griffin**	31	83	**Hruska**	0	0	**Javits**	77	91
ARIZONA			**DELAWARE**			**ILLINOIS**			**LOUISIANA**			**MINNESOTA**			**NEVADA**			**NORTH CAROLINA**		
Hayden	15	67	**Boggs**	23	33	**Dirksen**	8	25	Ellender	23	30	McCarthy	62	100	Bible	23	27	Ervin	15	20
Fannin	0	0	**Williams**	23	9	**Percy**	38	64	Long	23	36	Mondale	92	100	Cannon	38	36	Jordan, B.	8	0
ARKANSAS			**FLORIDA**			**INDIANA**			**MAINE**			**MISSISSIPPI**			**NEW HAMPSHIRE**			**NORTH CAROLINA**		
Fulbright	38	58	Holland	15	8	Bayh	62	90	Muskie	62	91	Eastland	8	0	McIntyre	69	91	Burdick	62	75
McClellan	15	8	Smathers	31	22	Hartke	46	78	**Smith**	23	33	Stennis	0	8	**Cotton**	23	17	**Young, M.**	0	18
CALIFORNIA			**GEORGIA**			**IOWA**			**MARYLAND**			**MISSOURI**			**NEW JERSEY**			**OHIO**		
Kuchel	38	67	Russell	8	13	**Hickenlper**	0	0	Brewster	77	100	Long, E.	62	91	Williams,H.	77	100	Lausche	8	18
Murphy	0	0	Talmadge	8	10	**Miller**	8	8	Tydings	77	91	Symington	54	60	**Case**	100	91	Young, S.	77	75

OKLAHOMA			**SOUTH DAKOTA**			**VIRGINIA**													
Harris	62	100	McGovern	92	100	Byrd, Jr. H.	8	8											
Monroney	31	45	**Mundt**	15	9	Spong	23	8											
OREGON			**TENNESSEE**			**WASHINGTON**													
Morse	92	80	Gore	54	70	Jackson	69	100											
Hatfield	54	64	**Baker**	23	33	Magnuson	69	100											
PENNSYLVANIA			**TEXAS**			**WEST VIRGINIA**													
Clark	92	91	Yarb'ough	62	100	Byrd, R.	23	33											
Scott	46	75	**Tower**	8	0	Randolph	69	91											
RHODE ISLAND			**UTAH**			**WISCONSIN**													
Pastore	62	75	Moss	77	100	Nelson	92	100											
Pell	92	100	**Bennett**	0	8	Proxmire	77	75											
SOUTH CAROLINA			**VERMONT**			**WYOMING**													
Hollings	8	17	**Aiken**	54	80	McGee	77	88											
Thurmond	0	0	**Prouty**	38	50	**Hansen**	8	9											

House of Representatives

1967 ADA RATING / 1967 COPE RATING

ALABAMA			Monagan	80	83	**Roudebush**	7	0	**Ruppe**	27	50	McCarthy	67	67	**Latta**	20	8	**Brock**	13	18
Andrews, G.W.	0	0	St. Onge	87	82	**Zion**	20	18	**Vander Jagt**	13	18	Ottinger	87	100	**Lukens**	7	8	**Duncan**	13	17
Bevill	7	8	**Meskill**	13	33	**IOWA**			**Detroit—Wayne County**			Pike	53	73	**McCulloch**	13	18	**Kuykendall**	7	17
Jones, R.	27	58	**DELAWARE**			Culver	87	100				Resnick	87	91	**Miller**	7	0	**Quillen**	7	17
Nichols	7	17	**Roth**	7	8	Smith	53	100	Conyers	100	100	Stratton	33	45	**Minshall**	13	17	**TEXAS**		
Selden	13	8	**FLORIDA**			**Gross**	7	0	Diggs	80	100	Tenzer	87	91	**Mosher**	40	45	Brooks	73	91
Buchanan	7	8	Bennett	13	25	**Kyl**	7	8	Dingell	67	91	Wolff	73	83	**Stanton**	7	9	Burleson	7	9
Dickinson	0	0	Fascell	60	83	**Mayne**	13	8	Ford, William	93	100	**Button**	67	67	**Taft**	20	27	Cabell	20	25
Edwards, J.	0	0	Fuqua	0	0	**Scherle**	0	9	Griffiths	73	91	**Conable**	7	8	**Whalen**	53	82	Casey	20	41
ALASKA			Gibbons	67	91	**Schwengel**	13	9	Nedzi	87	100	**Goodell**	13	9	**Wylie**	7	8	de la Garza	40	73
Pollock	20	33	Haley	0	8	**KANSAS**			**MINNESOTA**			**Grover**	7	17				Dowdy	0	0
ARIZONA			Herlong	7	9	**Dole**	7	9	Blatnik	87	100	**Horton**	73	83	**OKLAHOMA**			Eckhardt	93	100
Udall	93	100	Pepper	67	100	**Mize**	7	0	Fraser	80	100	**King, Carleton**	7	0	Albert	73	91	Fisher	0	0
Rhodes, J.	7	0	Rogers, P.	13	17	**Shriver**	13	8	**Langen**	7	0	**McEwen**	7	0	Edmondson	67	91	Gonzalez	93	100
Steiger	13	0	Sikes	0	9	**Skubitz**	7	0	**MacGregor**	13	18	**Pirnie**	27	25	Jarman	0	0	Kazen	73	91
ARKANSAS			**Burke, J. Herbert**	7	8	**Winn**	7	0	**Nelsen**	7	0	**Reid, O.R.**	80	83	Steed	33	58	Mahon	27	50
Gathings	0	8	**Cramer**	13	0				**Quie**	13	9	**Robison**	20	17	**Belcher**	0	0	Patman	47	90
Mills	20	45	**Gurney**	0	8	**KENTUCKY**			**Zwach**	20	27	**Smith, Henry P.**	13	0	**Smith, J.V.**	0	0	Pickle	47	45
Pryor	27	33	**GEORGIA**			Natcher	40	75				**Wydler**	33	27	**OREGON**			Poage	20	33
Hammerschmidt	0	8	Brinkley	7	18	Perkins	73	100	**MISSISSIPPI**			***New York City***			Green, E.	80	83	Pool	0	8
CALIFORNIA			Davis, J. W.	7	25	Stubblefield	33	58	Abernethy	0	0				Ullman	47	67	Purcell	27	40
Burton, P.	93	100	Flynt	7	25	Watts	27	41	Colmer	0	0	Addabbo	80	100	**Dellenback**	33	25	Roberts	13	36
Cohelan	87	100	Hagan	0	8	**Carter**	20	33	*Montgomery*	0	0	Bingham	100	100	**Wyatt**	13	27	Teague, O.	13	20
Edwards, D.	93	100	Landrum	27	45	**Cowger**	27	41	Whitten	7	17	Brasco	80	100				White	33	41
Hanna	80	91	O'Neal, M.	0	8	**Snyder**	13	17	Williams, J.B.	0	0	Carey	73	100	**PENNSYLVANIA**			Wright	60	83
Johnson, H.	67	100	Stephens	27	50	**LOUISIANA**						Celler	73	91	*Clark*	47	91	Young	60	91
Leggett	80	100	Stuckey	7	17	Boggs	73	91	**MISSOURI**			Delaney	73	100	Dent	67	100	**Bush**	7	8
McFall	73	100	**Blackburn**	0	18	Edwards, E.	27	41	Bolling	80	100	Farbstein	100	100	Flood	73	91	**Price, R.**	0	0
Miller, G.	73	100	**Thompson, S.F.**	7	13	Hebert	7	9	*Hull*	27	33	*Gilbert*	93	100	Holland	60	100	**UTAH**		
Moss	80	100	**HAWAII**			*Long, S.O.*	0	18	Hungate	47	60	Kelly	73	91	Moorhead	93	91	**Burton, L.J.**	7	8
Sisk	67	100	Matsunaga	87	91	Passman	0	8	Ichord	13	9	Multer	80	100	Morgan	73	91	**Lloyd**	13	0
Tunney	73	91	Mink	100	100	Rarick	0	10	Jones, P.C.	0	0	Murphy, J.M.	73	100	Rhodes, G.M.	80	100	**VERMONT**		
Van Deerlin	73	91	**IDAHO**			Waggonner	7	17	Karsten	80	100	Vacant			Rooney, F.B.	67	91	**Stafford**	27	41
Waldie	80	100	**Hansen, G.V.**	7	8	Willis	7	50	Randall	33	50	Rooney, J. J.	80	100	Vigorito	67	100	**VIRGINIA**		
Clausen, Don	7	0	**McClure**	13	0	**MAINE**			Sullivan	67	100	Rosenthal	93	100	**Biester**	20	8	Abbitt	0	0
Gubser	7	18	**ILLINOIS**			Hathaway	80	100	**Curtis**	7	9	Ryan	93	100	**Corbett**	47	50	Downing	27	27
Mailliard	20	8	Gray	73	90	Kyros	73	100	**Hall**	7	0	*Scheuer*	100	100	**Eshleman**	7	9	Hardy	27	25
Mathias, R.	7	9	Price, M.	73	100	**MARYLAND**			**MONTANA**			**Fino**	40	55	**Fulton, J.G.**	40	41	Marsh	0	0
Pettis	13	25	Shipley	53	91	Fallon	67	75	Olsen	73	100	**Halpern**	73	82	*Goodling*	7	0	Satterfield	7	8
Talcott	7	0	**Anderson, J.B.**	13	17	Friedel	87	91	**Battin**	7	0	**Kupferman**	67	83	**Johnson**	3	0	Tuck	0	0
Teague, C.	13	8	**Arends**	13	0	Garmatz	67	91	**NEBRASKA**						**McDade**	57	67	**Broyhill, Joel**	0	8
Utt	0	0	**Erlenborn**	13	8	Long, C.D.	60	100	*Cunningham*	7	17	**NORTH CAROLINA**			**Saylor**	20	27	**Poff**	0	0
Wilson, B.	7	8	**Findley**	13	0	Machen	73	83	**Denney**	13	9	Fountain	0	0	**Schneebeli**	7	0	**Scott**	0	8
Younger*			**McClory**	7	8	**Gude**	73	83	**Martin**	7	8	Galifianakis	33	41	**Schweiker**	40	50	**Wampler**	7	27
Los Angeles County			**Michel**	7	0	**Mathias**	53	83	**NEVADA**			Henderson	0	0	**Watkins**	13	0	**WASHINGTON**		
Brown, George	87	100	**Railsback**	13	25	**Morton**	20	25	Baring	7	17	Jones, W.B.	7	8	**Whalley**	7	0	Adams	87	100
Corman	73	91	**Reid, C.**	7	0	**MASSACHUSETTS**			**NEW HAMPSHIRE**			Kornegay	7	8	**Williams, L.G.**	7	0	Foley	73	91
Hawkins	93	100	**Springer**	13	8	Boland	87	91	**Cleveland**	20	9	Lennon	0	0	**Philadelphia City**			Hansen, J.B.	73	100
Holifield	87	100	**Chicago—Cook County**			Burke, James	87	91	**Wyman**	13	8	Taylor	0	0	Barrett	87	100	Hicks	93	91
King, Cecil	80	100	Annunzio	87	91	Donohue	80	91	**NEW JERSEY**			Whitener	7	9	Byrne, James	80	100	Meeds	73	100
Rees	87	100	Dawson	60	90	Macdonald, T.H.	67	100	Daniels	80	100	**Broyhill, James**	0	0	Eilberg	80	100	**May**	7	8
Roybal	93	100	Kluczynski	67	90	McCormack—House Speaker			Gallagher	87	100	**Gardner**	0	0	Green, W.J.	93	100	**Pelly**	27	18
Wilson, C.	67	100	Murphy, W.T.	73	100	O'Neill, T.P.	87	91	Helstoski	100	100	**Jonas**	0	0	Nix	87	100	**WEST VIRGINIA**		
Bell	33	45	O'Hara	87	100	Philbin	80	91	Howard	87	91				**RHODE ISLAND**			Hechler, K.	73	91
Clawson, Del.	0	17	Pucinski	60	91	**Bates**	27	17	Joelson	87	83	**NORTH DAKOTA**			St Germain	80	100	Kee	67	100
Hosmer	13	17	Ronan	87	91	**Conte**	60	64	Minish	80	100	**Andrews, M.**	13	25	Tiernan (3/28/67)	82	100	Slack	73	91
Lipscomb	0	0	Rostenkowski	73	91	**Heckler, M.M.**	53	58	Patten	80	91	**Kleppe**	7	8	**SOUTH CAROLINA**			Staggers	73	100
Reinecke	7	8	Yates	100	91	**Keith**	20	17	Rodino	80	100	**OHIO**			Ashmore	0	0	**Moore**	27	36
Smith, H.A.	0	0	**Collier**	7	0	**Morse**	67	82	Thompson, F.	87	100	Ashley	87	91	Dorn	7	8	**WISCONSIN**		
Wiggins	0	17	**Derwinski**	7	9	**MICHIGAN**			**Cahill**	47	41	Feighan	80	100	Gettys	13	17	Kastenmeier	93	100
COLORADO			**Rumsfeld**	7	17	O'Hara, J.G.	93	100	**Dwyer**	47	41	Hays	47	78	McMillan	13	17	Reuss	93	100
Aspinall	60	83	**INDIANA**			***Broomfield***	27	18	**Frelinghuysen**	20	8	Kirwan	67	100	Rivers	13	33	Zablocki	67	91
Evans, F.	67	91	Brademas	80	100	**Brown, Garry**	33	50	**Hunt**	13	25	Vanik	80	100	**Watson**	0	0	**Byrnes, J.W.**	7	0
Rogers, B.	67	91	Hamilton	53	83	**Cederberg**	7	0	**Sandman**	20	20	**Ashbrook**	7	9	**SOUTH DAKOTA**			**Davis, G.R.**	7	0
Brotzman	13	18	Jacobs	73	100	**Chamberlain**	7	0	**Widnall**	40	41	**Ayres**	13	20	**Berry**	7	0	***Laird***	7	9
CONNECTICUT			Madden	80	100	**Esch**	27	25	**NEW MEXICO**			**Betts**	7	0	**Reifel**	20	33	**O'Konski**	33	20
Daddario	87	83	Roush	60	91	**Ford, G.R.**	13	8	Morris	33	58	**Bolton**	13	8	**TENNESSEE**			**Schadeberg**	7	8
Giaimo	73	95	**Adair**	7	0	**Harvey**	27	33	Walker	47	75	**Bow**	7	9	Anderson	73	100	**Steiger, W.A.**	13	17
Irwin	80	83	**Bray**	7	0	**Hutchinson**	7	0	**NEW YORK**			**Brown, C.J.**	7	0	Blanton	20	41	**Thomson, V.W.**	7	0
			Halleck	13	0	**McDonald, J.H.**	13	17	Dow	73	82	**Clancy**	13	8	Everett	20	33	**WYOMING**		
			Myers	7	17	**Riegle**	33	41	Dulski	73	100	**Devine**	7	0	Evins, J.L.	47	75	**Harrison**	7	0
									Hanley	67	100	**Harsha**	13	18	Fulton, R.	67	100			

*Deceased

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First Complete Story of World Spy Net

Communists very successful in obtaining secrets from U.S. allies

By ARTHUR VEYSEY

(Russian spies planted in the British and American governments more than 25 years ago have delivered to Moscow secrets of the atom bomb, nuclear submarines, intercontinental missiles, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They helped organize the United States Central Intelligence Agency and sent to Moscow the names of the agents. During the Korean War they helped formulate the policies that prevented Gen. MacArthur from pursuing the Red Chinese Army across the Yalu River. They were able in 1944 to tell Stalin that Churchill regarded the Soviet Union as the greatest post-war threat. Some of the highly placed Britons who were Russian agents have fled to Russia and recently have begun to talk. With each revelation there is a reaction by American intelligence officials. The Chicago Tribune *has put together the story of these spies. The article below is the first of seven installments in this* Tribune *series which will appear in consecutive issues of* Human Events.)

London:—Europe, after 20 years of Cold War, is still loaded with spies. The Soviet spy service, 25,000 strong, concentrates hard on Europe. Although the United States is the intended victim, the Russians find neutrals and America's allies, especially a number of Britons, useful in unlocking American doors and files.

The Soviet service deploys probably 5,000 trained Russian agents in Western Europe and another 3,000 or 4,000 in its own satellites and the rest of the world.

The agents recruit local citizens. So does the American Central Intelligence Agency. Both forces are busiest in divided Germany. The number of spies in the two German states, full time and part time, working for the West, the East, or both, is put at 10,000. Ten times a year, on average, a Communist agent asks refuge in West Germany.

Seeking secrets among the neutrals and allies is highly rewarding. From Britons, the Soviet Union has in 25 years obtained secrets of the atom bomb, North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense plans, high American policy decisions, the development of nuclear submarines and ocean-spanning missiles, missile defenses, as well as names of allied agents.

Locally recruited spies like atom scientists Klaus Fuchs, Bruno Pontecorvo, and Alan Nunn-May, diplomats Guy Burgess, Harold (Kim) Philby, and Donald Maclean, double agent George Blake, the Swede Col. Stig Wennerstrom don't look upon themselves as traitors, but as superpatriots saving their country, and the world, from American nuclear war.

The CIA has had its victories too, though small by comparison. During the Cuban missile crisis, a Briton tipped off the White House that Premier Nikita Khrushchev would not go to war to put the missiles into Castro's island.

The Kremlin Communists, taking over where the czars left off, employ about 400,000 men to seek out foes of the government and guard those it finds.

The Soviet Union sends out most agents openly as Soviet employes under their real names but with false assignments—to embassies, trade missions, conferences, Russian Aeroflot Air Line offices, Tass news agencies, and Soviet purchasing offices.

In London, the Soviet Union has 170 persons at its embassy, 130 at trade missions, another 200 in such enterprises as the Russian bank, the Russian news agency, and Aeroflot. Defecting Soviet agents say all such persons must be regarded as spies.

The Soviet secret service can, for delicate tasks, draw upon two other forces.

The first thrives at international assemblies. The Soviet delegation to, say, a medical conference includes highly skilled medical men who hope to use the professional fraternity to gain secrets from an unsuspecting, talkative colleague. It also includes trained agents who use the meeting as an opportunity to enter the foreign country.

The second force is made up of old-fashioned spies, men and women who are smuggled into a foreign country under a false occupation and sometimes under a false identity.

Two such men are a Briton, Greville Wynne, and a Russian, Konon Molody.

Wynne worked for British intelligence during the Suez war in 1956. His old master invited him to lunch and proposed he develop an East-West import-export business, indicating spy work would follow.

Wynne signed up a few British companies seeking business in Communist countries. He traveled through the satellite countries and entered the Soviet Union the next year. He did fairly well for his companies and gradually made himself known to Communist officials openly interested in extending East-West trade as well as auxiliary spy opportunities.

Three years passed before British intelligence thought him well enough established as a legitimate trader to begin work as a spy. His masters proposed that he try to contact a Moscow group called the Scientific Research Committee, ostensibly interested in certain kinds of trade. He did so. He reported back on committee members. He described one member, Col. Oleg Penkovsky. "That's your man," he was told.

The British had been watching Penkovsky since 1955 when he was a military attache in Ankara, Turkey, and British agents noted he appeared disgruntled with the Communist regime. Agents did not think, however, he was then ripe.

Wynne, on his next trips to Moscow, concentrated on the scientific committee and Penkovsky. The action seemed natural. Wynne was an electrical engineer and many of his companies dealt in scientific wares. He proposed that the committee send a delegation to Britain to visit the factories and see for themselves the things that might be useful. The committee accepted—here was an open invitation to put its own spies into British scientific industry.

The delegates arrived in London in the spring of 1960. Wynne and his companies were hospitable hosts, though secret products disappeared from factory lines before the guests visited.

Penkovsky turned out to be a good-time boy. Wynne showed him about the night spots. They became chums, and Penkovsky opened his heart. He said he was still in Russian intelligence. He offered to pass over whatever came his way.

For a year Wynne traveled frequently to Moscow collecting data from Penkovsky. Wynne arranged another trip out for Penkovsky in connection with a French trade fair. Late at night in Paris and London Penkovsky spoke for

British "businessman" Greville Wynne, shown at his Moscow trial, attempted to help Oleg Penkovsky escape but was caught by Soviet agents.

hours to British and American agents who told Wynne they had never had such a windfall. Some of the talk later found its way into a book, *The Penkovsky Papers.*

Gradually Penkovsky's colleagues became suspicious. They began trailing Wynne on his visits to Moscow. Penkovsky protested. But the pair decided for mutual safety that someone other than Wynne should carry to London Penkovsky's photographs and reports. Penkovsky put his next film into a box of candy and handed it to children of a British embassy wife, Janet Chisholm. He noted the transfer was watched. So he arranged "dead letter offices" where he could leave the films for British agents to collect later.

Britain proposed that Penkovsky flee. But he could find no way out. Traveling committees were closed to him. Britain considered sending a submarine, but he couldn't reach any coast.

So Wynne was given the rescue job. He had two large trailers built, ostensibly as traveling showrooms. But in one was a concealed space big enough for a man. The trailers cost $100,000 and took longer than expected. In the autumn they were ready and Wynne set off for the East, pausing in satellite capitals to allay suspicion.

He had reached Budapest, Hungary, when, late on the afternoon of Nov. 2, 1962, a Russian woman he and Penkovsky had found a gay companion in Paris suddenly appeared at Wynne's trailer after a party for Hungarian trade officials. She greeted him warmly. But her's was a Judas' kiss. In an instant two big men grabbed him, dragged him screaming to a car, and sped away. In the morning he was flown to Moscow, to Lubyanka Prison.

Wynne maintained he was an innocent businessman. The British insisted similarly. His captors confronted him with Penkovsky, arrested 10 days earlier. Wynne then admitted he had carried home parcels and letters given him by Penkovsky, but assumed they were only personal.

Wynne's account of his quizzing, of efforts to break him, are frightening. But he maintained his position. In May the Russians brought him into court after a three-day rehearsal and with a script of what to say. Penkovsky was in the dock, too. The court sentenced Penkovsky to death, Wynne to three years in prison followed by five years in a labor camp. The Russians announced a week later that Penkovsky had been shot, but Wynne thinks he took poison to avoid the post-sentencing quizzing which he knew would involve torture.

For Wynne, too, the trial only began the serious quizzing, although for him the main weapons were starvation, cold and loneliness. Once he passed out. He came to believe he would not live through the sentence. But suddenly, after 16 months, he was given his own clothes, put on a plane to East Berlin, and there, early one morning, was handed over to the British agents in return for Molody.

Molody, a Russian spy in Britain, had become skilled hunting traitors as the Red Army rolled forward through the Ukraine and western Russia, through Poland, into Germany. Then he was trained to work in Britain. As a boy he had lived with an aunt in California, so he already spoke English fluently, though with an American accent.

Soviet intelligence rechristened him Gordon Lonsdale. Such a person was born in Cobalt, Ontario, just a couple of years before his own birth, but the mother, a Finn, had early taken him to Finland where he apparently fell into Russian hands during the war and died.

The Russians smuggled Molody into Canada. He openly got a birth certificate as Lonsdale and with that obtained, through the mail, a genuine Canadian passport. In 1955 he came to London, rented an apartment in a building called the White House, which gave him much pleasure, and started selling anti-burglary devices. He did quite well.

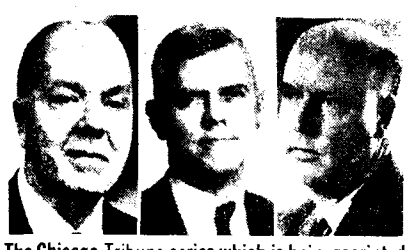
He did even better as a spymaster. Two years earlier there arrived from New York Morris Cohen, onetime student at the University of Illinois, and his wife, Leontina, or Lola. In Vienna they had surrendered an expiring British passport identifying them as New Zealanders, Peter and Helen Kroger, experts in rare books, and obtained a new passport.

Only later did Britain learn that the surrendered passport was among a bundle of unissued passports which the Chinese Communists acquired on seizing the British consulate in Shanghai. The Russians apparently got it from the Chinese during the days of Moscow-Peking friendship and merely filled it out for the Cohens.

In London the Cohens bought a suburban bungalow, installed a long-distance radio and a photo workshop capable of reducing a page of writing to a dot. The rare book business opened the mails to them.

(Continued on next page)

About the Authors. . .



The Chicago Tribune series which is being reprinted on these pages was prepared by (left to right) Willard Edwards, Arthur Veysey and Eugene Griffin. These men are veteran reporters with, respectively, the Washington, London and Ottawa bureaus of the Tribune and are well-equipped to give detailed reports on the many activities of Communist spies in the United States, Great Britain and Canada.

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The Kremlin needed facts about America's nuclear submarines. The United States was helping Britain build its first such vessel, the *Dreadnought*. Molody struck up an acquaintance with two Britons working in the underwater research station at Portland, Ethel Gee and Harry Houghton. They had unimportant jobs but, for money, they were willing to rob the files. The money let them go on occasional splurges beyond their small salaries. The security officer became suspicious. Agents trailed the pair, who led them to Molody and he to the Cohens.

A judge jailed Molody for 25 years, the Cohens for 20, and the two Britons for 15. The Soviet Union disclaimed them all, but it swapped Wynne for Molody and is now trying to get the Cohens in exchange for a British teacher named Gerald Brooke, jailed for distributing anti-Soviet literature during a visit to Russia. Britain says the cases are not comparable.

Although hidden spies are more personally vulnerable than open spies, the latter carry a greater potential danger to the employing government. A hidden spy, living in an alien atmosphere, his heart beating with each knock on the door, is not likely to become a double agent. Not so with open spies.

Consider Penkovsky himself or the double-dealing George Blake or the Swede Stig Wennerstrom.

Blake was born in Holland. His father was an Egyptian Jew named Behar who became a captain in the British Army during the first World War. His mother was Dutch. The father named the boy George for the English king. The father died in 1936, belatedly from Western front gassing. When the Nazis seized Holland, a British warship brought his mother and sister to England, but the boy, then 17, stayed behind.

The Nazis soon arrested him as a Briton but he escaped, joined the underground, risked his life for little gains, and in 1943, tipped off by the British he was about to be arrested, fled disguised as a priest through Belgium and France to Spain, where the Spanish arrested him. Britain got him out, brought him to London, but refused his pleas to jump into Holland. Instead Britain made him a translator. He felt snubbed.

The family changed the name to Blake and after the war naval intelligence did accept him, but sent him to Hamburg to delve into wartime U-boat secrets. He was so diligent the navy was glad when the foreign office accepted him in 1948, taught him Russian and sent him to South Korea as vice consul.

The Communists invaded. Seoul was abandoned. He volunteered to stay behind and was interned for three years. Colleagues remember him as a model prisoner, once, on a winter death march, giving his coat to an older man. But sometime during the three years he joined the Communist cause.

He came home something of a hero, was given an easy job in the foreign office, and later met the daughter of the Foreign Office's Russian language chief. She proposed marriage. He accepted.

In the spring of 1955, British intelligence sent him to Berlin. There he performed well. When agents disappeared or when the Russians discovered the CIA tunnel-tapping East Berlin telephones, no one suspected him. His masters brought him home after four years and sent him to Beirut, Lebanon, to learn Arabic and work in the Middle East. In a few months a German double agent exposed Blake as another double agent. Blake confessed he had passed on to the Kremlin every document he thought worthwhile that came his way during nine years. A British judge jailed

Oleg Penkovsky managed to turn over to the West priceless intelligence information but paid with his life for his efforts.

him for 42 years, the longest term ever given in a British court.

Blake, like earlier trapped traitors, was a model prisoner. He became pals with an Irishman, Sean Bourke, jailed for mailing a booby-trapped package to a policeman. In the summer of 1966 Bourke was freed. On a drizzling, dark Friday evening, October 22, Blake left the television room at Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, belittling the program and telling a warder he was going to his cell to read.

At 7 p.m. all prisoners returned to their cells. At 7:10 a warder noted Blake was missing. At 7:20 another saw a rope ladder over the outside wall. Soon others discovered broken bars on a stairway window and, outside the wall, fresh tire tracks and a potted pink chrysanthemum.

A week later a policeman checking abandoned cars found one registered to Bourke. In it were Blake's prison clothes and pink chrysanthemum petals. Two months later the landlady of a rooming house within walking distance of the prison reported she had found, in a room just vacated, a false mustache. She thought the roomer had been a mustached free-lance journalist, but police found Bourke's fingerprints.

Blake's mother had to wait only five months until a letter came from him, posted in Cairo, Egypt, like so many other notes from refugee spies. She went to Holland in July to visit a brother and in two weeks received a telegram from East Berlin asking her to come there by train. She did so. Blake was waiting at the station. The pair flew to Moscow, back to a resort in Czechoslovakia, to Moscow again, and finally Berlin where the son saw the mother off for London. She says she didn't ask him how he got to Moscow but reported him well and happy. His wife had divorced him.

Nor was there any mention of Bourke, although one day not so long ago a man saying he was Bourke and looking like him walked into the British embassy in Moscow to ask about his possible return to Britain. He walked out again and hasn't been reported since.

Why he stayed on in London two months after Blake's escape is a puzzle. Perhaps Blake was here that long too. Bourke apparently helped Blake escape for money, and for the Irish devilment of twisting the English lion's tail.

The most pernicious peril a government faces in using open spies is perhaps best shown in the case of Wennerstrom. He began his career as a junior military attache in Russia before the war. As a neutral, he could travel along the Baltic, an area of vital concern for the Germans. Legitimately, he traded that information to the Germans for data on German planes which Sweden wanted. When German colleagues had no more facts he wanted, they offered money. He took it. He wanted money. His wife's father was rich and taunted Wennerstrom about his small salary.

Later, when he went to Washington, Wennerstrom found that an occasional nugget had become a rich vein. The United States had lots of secrets and the Russians paid well. They made him a general and called him "the Eagle." In time, his colleagues mistrusted him but the Swedish Socialist premier, surprisingly, made him disarmament adviser, increasing his sources of secrets. He met his fate in a corporal's wife who, cleaning the Wennerstrom house, found spy equipment.

The Soviet Union is ruthless. Consider Anthony Courtney, a former naval officer and a British member of Parliament who, like Wynne, worked hard at East-West trade, even flying his own plane. He thought the Russians considered him a good and valuable friend but when, in Parliament, he urged Britain to restrict movements of Communist embassy employes, the Russians sent his wife, his friends, and his enemies little booklets showing him and an undressed Intourist girl in his room at Moscow's National Hotel. He quickly lost his wife, his seat in Commons, and his business.

(*To be continued in next week's issue*)

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Election Year Information

This is the second installment in the five-part **Human Events** series designed to provide our readers with the statistical and legal information they might need for this election year. The chart below gives the popular and electoral votes in every state for the last three presidential elections.

Last week's article supplied information about the incumbent governors, senators and representatives, their latest winning percentages, ACA ratings and dates when they must run again.

Subsequent installments in the series will give state-by-state information on the 1968 primary elections, a description of how 1968 convention delegates will be selected and the voting requirements in each state.

The editors recommend that those who do not save their issues of **Human Events** tear out this page for future reference.

1956

States	Electoral vote E	S	J	Popular Vote Eisenhower	Stevenson	Others
Ala.	-	10	1	195,694	280,844	20,323
Alaska	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ariz.	4	-	-	176,990	112,880	303
Ark.	-	8	-	186,287	213,277	7,008
Calif.	32	-	-	3,027,688	2,420,135	17,091
Colo.	6	-	-	394,479	263,997	4,598
Conn.	8	-	-	711,837	405,079	-
Del.	3	-	-	98,057	79,421	510
D. C.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fla.	10	-	-	643,849	480,371	1,348
Ga.	-	12	-	222,874	445,925	2,096
Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho	4	-	-	166,979	105,868	126
Ill.	27	-	-	2,623,327	1,775,682	8,342
Ind.	13	-	-	1,182,811	783,908	7,888
Iowa	10	-	-	729,187	501,858	3,519
Kansas	8	-	-	566,878	296,317	3,048
Ky.	10	-	-	572,192	476,453	5,160
La.	10	-	-	329,047	243,977	44,520
Maine	5	-	-	249,238	102,468	-
Md.	9	-	-	559,738	372,613	-
Mass.	16	-	-	1,393,197	948,190	6,778
Mich.	20	-	-	1,713,647	1,359,898	6,923
Minn.	11	-	-	719,302	617,525	3,178
Miss.	-	8	-	60,685	144,498	42,966
Mo.	-	13	-	914,486	919,187	-
Mont.	4	-	-	154,933	116,238	-
Nebr.	6	-	-	378,108	199,029	-
Nevada	3	-	-	56,049	40,640	-
N. H.	4	-	-	176,519	90,364	111
N. J.	16	-	-	1,606,942	850,337	27,033
N. M.	4	-	-	146,788	106,098	1,040
N. Y.	45	-	-	4,340,340	2,750,769	1,259
N. C.	-	14	-	575,062	590,530	-
N. D.	4	-	-	156,766	96,742	483
Ohio	25	-	-	2,262,610	1,439,655	-
Okla.	8	-	-	473,769	385,581	-
Oregon	6	-	-	406,393	329,204	-
Penna.	32	-	-	2,585,252	1,981,769	9,482
R. I.	4	-	-	229,677	163,521	-
S. C.	-	8	-	75,700	136,372	88,511
S. D.	4	-	-	171,569	122,288	-
Tenn.	11	-	-	462,288	456,507	20,675
Texas	24	-	-	1,080,619	859,958	14,591
Utah	4	-	-	215,631	118,364	-
Vt.	3	-	-	110,390	42,549	-
Va.	12	-	-	386,459	267,760	43,759
Wash.	9	-	-	620,430	523,002	7,457
W. Va.	8	-	-	449,297	381,534	-
Wisc.	12	-	-	954,844	586,768	8,946
Wyo.	3	-	-	74,573	49,554	72
Totals	457	73	1	35,589,477	26,035,504	409,144

1960

States	Electoral vote N	K	B	Popular Vote Nixon	Kennedy	Others
Ala.	-	5	6	237,981	318,303	331,998
Alaska	3	-	-	30,953	29,809	-
Ariz.	4	-	-	221,241	176,781	469
Ark.	-	8	-	184,508	215,049	28,952
Calif.	32	-	-	3,259,722	3,224,099	22,757
Colo.	6	-	-	402,242	330,629	3,375
Conn.	-	8	-	565,813	657,055	-
Del.	-	3	-	96,373	99,590	720
D. C.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fla.	10	-	-	795,476	748,700	-
Ga.	-	12	-	274,472	458,638	-
Hawaii	-	3	-	92,295	92,410	-
Idaho	4	-	-	161,597	138,853	-
Ill.	-	27	-	2,368,988	2,377,846	10,560
Ind.	13	-	-	1,175,120	952,358	7,882
Iowa	10	-	-	722,381	550,565	864
Kansas	8	-	-	561,474	363,213	4,138
Ky.	10	-	-	602,607	521,855	-
La.	-	10	-	230,980	407,339	169,572
Maine	5	-	-	240,608	181,159	-
Md.	-	9	-	489,538	565,808	-
Mass.	-	16	-	976,750	1,487,174	5,525
Mich.	-	20	-	1,620,428	1,687,269	10,400
Minn.	-	11	-	757,915	779,933	4,039
Miss.	-	-	8	73,561	108,362	116,248
Mo.	-	13	-	962,221	972,201	-
Mont.	4	-	-	141,841	134,891	847
Nebr.	6	-	-	380,553	232,542	-
Nevada	-	3	-	52,387	54,880	-
N. H.	4	-	-	157,989	137,772	-
N. J.	-	16	-	1,363,324	1,385,415	24,372
N. M.	-	4	-	153,733	156,027	1,347
N. Y.	-	45	-	3,446,420	3,830,085	14,319
N. C.	-	14	-	655,420	713,136	-
N. D.	4	-	-	154,310	123,963	158
Ohio	25	-	-	2,217,611	1,944,248	-
Okla.	7	-	1	533,039	370,111	-
Oregon	6	-	-	408,060	367,402	-
Penna.	-	32	-	2,439,956	2,556,282	9,863
R. I.	-	4	-	147,502	258,032	-
S. C.	-	8	-	188,558	198,129	-
S. D.	4	-	-	178,417	128,070	-
Tenn.	11	-	-	556,577	481,453	13,779
Texas	-	24	-	1,121,699	1,167,932	22,039
Utah	4	-	-	205,361	169,248	100
Vt.	3	-	-	98,131	69,186	-
Va.	12	-	-	404,521	362,327	4,601
Wash.	9	-	-	629,273	599,298	13,001
W. Va.	-	8	-	395,995	441,786	-
Wisc.	12	-	-	895,175	830,805	3,102
Wyo.	3	-	-	77,551	63,331	-
Totals	219	303	15	34,108,647	34,221,349	825,027

1964

States	Electoral vote G	J	Popular Vote Goldwater	Johnson	Others
Ala.	10	-	479,085	-	210,732
Alaska	-	3	22,930	44,329	-
Ariz.	5	-	242,535	237,753	482
Ark.	-	6	243,264	314,197	2,965
Calif.	-	40	2,879,108	4,171,877	1,172
Colo.	-	6	296,767	476,024	4,195
Conn.	-	8	390,996	826,269	-
Del.	-	3	78,078	122,704	538
D. C.	-	3	28,801	169,796	-
Fla.	-	14	905,941	948,540	-
Ga.	12	-	616,600	522,557	-
Hawaii	-	4	44,022	163,249	-
Idaho	-	4	143,557	148,920	-
Ill.	-	26	1,905,946	2,796,833	-
Ind.	-	13	911,118	1,170,848	9,640
Iowa	-	9	449,148	733,030	2,243
Kansas	-	7	386,579	464,028	7,294
Ky.	-	9	372,977	669,659	3,469
La.	10	-	509,225	387,068	-
Maine	-	4	118,701	262,264	-
Md.	-	10	385,495	730,912	-
Mass.	-	14	549,727	1,786,422	8,490
Mich.	-	21	1,060,152	2,136,615	6,190
Minn.	-	10	559,624	991,117	3,721
Miss.	7		356,528	52,618	-
Mo.	-	12	653,535	1,164,344	-
Mont.	-	4	113,032	164,246	1,350
Nebr.	-	5	276,847	307,307	-
Nevada	-	3	56,094	79,339	-
N. H.	-	4	104,029	182,065	-
N. J.	-	17	963,843	1,867,671	15,256
N. M.	-	4	131,838	194,017	1,760
N. Y.	-	43	2,243,559	4,913,156	9,300
N. C.	-	13	624,844	800,139	-
N. D.	-	4	108,207	149,784	398
Ohio	-	26	1,470,865	2,498,331	-
Okla.	-	8	412,665	519,834	-
Oregon	-	6	282,779	501,017	-
Penna.	-	29	1,673,657	3,130,954	15,548
R. I.	-	4	74,615	315,463	-
S. C.	8	-	309,048	215,700	-
S. D.	-	4	130,108	163,010	-
Tenn.	-	11	508,965	635,047	-
Texas	-	25	958,566	1,663,185	5,060
Utah	-	4	180,682	219,628	-
Vt.	-	3	54,942	108,127	-
Va.	-	12	481,334	558,038	2,895
Wash.	-	9	470,366	779,699	8,309
W. Va.	-	7	253,953	538,087	-
Wisc.	-	12	638,495	1,050,424	2,896
Wyo.	-	3	61,998	80,718	-
Totals	52	486	27,175,770	43,126,959	323,903

Walter B. Jones received one electoral vote in 1956 but no popular votes.

Harry F. Byrd received one of his electoral votes in 1960 in Oklahoma although he received no popular votes there.

Others under popular vote include:

1956: Andrews, Constitution; Byrd, States' Rights; Hass, Socialist-Labor; Holtwick, Prohibition; Dobbs, Socialist-Workers; Hoopes, Socialist; and Krajewski, American Third Party.

1960: Hass, Socialist-Labor; Decker, Prohibition; Faubus, National States Rights; Dobbs, Socialist-Workers; Sullivan, Constitutional; Lee, Conservative; Coiner, Virginia Conservative; Daly, Tax Cut; King, Independent Afro-American; Curtis, Constitution; and Independent American (no candidate). In Alabama and Mississippi, successful Democratic electors who had run unpledged cast their votes for Harry F. Byrd. The States Rights Party of Louisiana also ran unpledged electors.

There is no satisfactory way to show the vote of Alabama, where five electors pledged to Kennedy ran on the same slate with six unpledged electors. If only the high elector's figure is included, voters who were able to elect five Kennedy electors are slighted. If both the high unpledged and the high Kennedy electors are shown, over 300,000 voters are counted twice. The latter method, unfortunately, seems to be the more nearly fair of the two alternatives. Byrd's high elector received 324,050, Kennedy's high elector 318,303.

1964: Hass, Socialist-Labor; DeBerry, Socialist-Workers; Munn, Prohibition; Kasper, National States Rights; and Lightburn, Constitution. The Democratic party in Alabama ran unpledged electors.

Source: 1956 and 1960 from **A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections**, by Svend Petersen; 1964 from table prepared for incorporation in revised edition.

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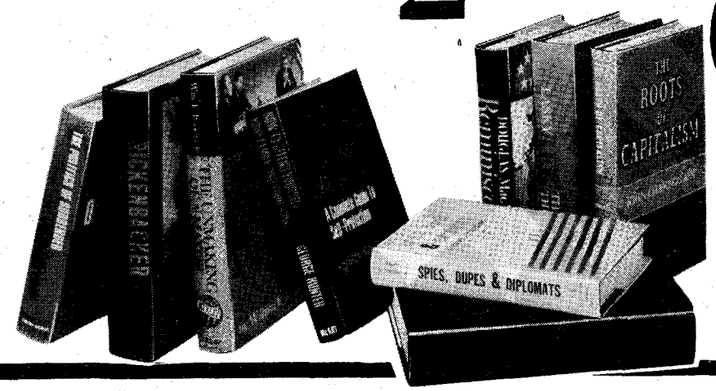

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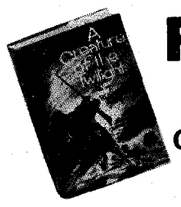

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